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INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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THE LATEST NEWS FROM ISRAEL

Published in Jerusalem צא לאור בישראל

This issue is dominated by the report of the commission into the Beirut massacre and the dramatic events which have followed its publication. News and commentary share the pages.

The dramatic events that ousted Sharon



Jerusalem Post Staff

The bitter national conflict sparked by last week's Kahan Commission report on the Beirut massacre ended over the weekend as the cabinet decided to replace Ariel Sharon as defence minister. But discussion continued over the intention of the Begin government to allow Sharon to remain in the cabinet as minister without portfolio.

In the meantime, Prime Minister Begin will take over Defence. It is thought that the portfolio could go to Israel's ambassador in the U.S., Moshe Arens (see page 3).

In a letter to Mr. Begin at the weekend Sharon announced that he would accept the cabinet decision to leave the Defence Ministry but had no intention of leaving the government and would continue to serve as a minister.

Not all ministers are happy with this as they fear that Sharon, without a specific portfolio, might interfere in the affairs of other ministers.

The cabinet by a vote of 16 to 1 — Sharon was the sole dissenter — voted late on Thursday night to accept the Kahan report and its recommendations, including the removal of Sharon from his post.

The cabinet vote came after three emergency meetings in as many days to consider the report of the commission, set up by the government in the wake of the massacres of Palestinians by Phalangists at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps last September.

The issuing of the report last Tuesday created a storm among both politicians and the public. While some opposition groups demanded that Sharon be removed immediately, there was strong Likud and public support for the minister to remain in the cabinet, even as minister without portfolio.

Sharon balked at suggestions that he resign. He was quoted as saying that Begin would have to fire him. The prime minister, however, said at one of the cabinet sessions that he did not intend to sack Sharon, and there were days of uncertainty as to how the crisis would be resolved.

OC Northern Command Amir Drori: Breach of duty in failing to terminate the Phalangists' action; no penalty recommended.

Belut divisional commander Amos Yarou: Misjudged the situation and failed to report adequately to his superiors; should not hold a field command for the next three years.

Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan: Dereliction of duty; no penalty recommended.

Some 10,000 people attended the funeral in Haifa on Friday of Emil Grunzweig, 33, the first Jewish fatality of a political demonstration in Israel. He was killed and 10 others were injured when a grenade was thrown at a Peace Now demonstration outside the prime minister's office in Jerusalem on Thursday night. The demonstrators were calling for Defence Minister Sharon's resignation.

The murder occurred in an atmosphere of verbal and physical strife in the wake of the Kahan Commission report, whose recommendations were being accepted by Prime Minister Menachem Begin

and his cabinet at the time of the demonstration.

After the cabinet meeting Begin called the grenade blast "a frightening tragedy and a shocking event. The heart cries for the young man who was murdered. We wish a speedy recovery to the wounded. We share in the mourning of the bereaved family."

"There is a difficult dispute in the nation right now, but we are free citizens in a democratic country. God forbid that we should go the way of heinous violence. God forbid."

Two policemen were among those lightly injured in the blast, and one of the hospitalized demonstrators was Avraham Burg, son of Interior Minister Yosef Burg. The murderous assault followed several hours of violence directed at the peaceful demonstrators by what seemed to be organized gangs of young men. Even after the blast, counter-demonstrators, who had taunted the Peace Now marchers with cries of "Fascists" and "PLO supporters" continued to chant "Begin, king of Israel" and "Arik (Sharon), king of Israel."



Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres, Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy stand among the mourners at the funeral of grenade victim Emil Grunzweig in Haifa on Friday. Report below.

In its recommendation regarding Sharon, the commission called on the defence minister to "draw the appropriate conclusions" and, failing that, called on the premier to "consider" dismissing him.

Sharon said that there were sections of the Kahan report that he was not prepared to accept. The idea of "indirect guilt" put forward by the commission should be rejected, he said. It would enable Israel's enemies to accuse this country of genocide and brand Israel with the "mark of Cain."

The critical events of last week set off talk that the prime minister might seek early elections. But by the weekend, this prospect seemed to have faded.

In the days immediately following publication of the report, the Labour Party restrained its criticism, saying that it wished to

give the government a chance to act on the report free from political and parliamentary pressure.

Some Labour members, however, urged a more activist approach and suggested that there was a possibility of bringing the government down. The hope apparently was that the Liberal faction in the ruling Likud coalition — some of whose members are sharply critical of Sharon — would leave the government.

(Continued on page 2)

THE FULL REPORT

The complete text of the Kahan Commission report is available in English. Copies can be obtained for U.S.\$2.50 each (or its equivalent in other currencies) from "The Jerusalem Post," P.O. Box 81, Jerusalem, Israel. The price includes airmail postage.

He was posted to the Golan in the Lebanon war.

Grunzweig, the divorced father of a three-year-old girl, was a former master's student in the philosophy of science at Hebrew University. Prof. Yehuda Elkana, director of the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, where Grunzweig worked, said

(Continued on page 4)

NEWSTAND PRICES IN LOCAL CURRENCY

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| Australia | \$1.20 | Italy | L. 1,500 |
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| Holland | DF3.00 | United Kingdom | 60p |
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THE OUSTING OF SHARON

(Continued from page 1)

There were also voices in the opposition calling for the whole government to resign in view of the report. At the least, Sharon should not return to the cabinet.

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, in an interview after Sunday's cabinet meeting, said that the government believed it was fulfilling the proposals of the Kahan Commission by having Sharon moved from the Defence Ministry. The government legal adviser was of this view. The commission's main criticism of Sharon involved his role as defence minister.

Hammer said he would favour the formation of a national unity government to deal with the country's security, economic and social problems, but he did not think this could come about in the near future.

At the first of the three cabinet sessions last week, Sharon said that the sanctions recommended by the commission against Intelligence chief Yehoshua Saguy and Herut divisional commander Amos Yaron "would cause a great deal of harm throughout the IDF."

Interior Minister Yosef Burg remarked sharply that Sharon was unwilling to take any share of the blame. He was warning the cabinet not to tamper with the army, but was not offering to pay the price himself.

Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori — himself a former general — curtly dismissed Sharon's demands that the recommendations affecting the army officers be ignored. "I don't want to hear anybody threatening us here... I can assure you that if these recommendations are implemented there will be no repercussions in the army whatsoever."

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who the commission scored for not taking Zipori's report of the killings seriously, cut short a visit to Europe in order to attend the cabinet sessions.

Shamir said that the recommendations should be accepted, but "whatever happens, we should avoid haste."

A few hours after the commission report was released on Tuesday Sharon took the offensive, blaming the U.S. for directing a campaign to oust him and to impose a PLO state next door to Israel.

Sharon, who was introduced at a Herut dinner as "a great warrior who saved our country," dwelt on what he called the "political and military successes" of the Peace for

Gabilee campaign.

In the course of the tumultuous political events of the week, some Sharon supporters in Herut conceded that although he might have to yield the defence portfolio, his standing with the public is solid, and that eventually the portfolio could be returned to him.

Some militant Sharon supporters — Tzviya's three Knesset members and the NRP's Haim Druckman, a Gush Emunim leader — intimated that they would refuse to support any government which excludes Sharon completely.

Sharon met last week with 50 heads of local Herut branches to lobby for support. His chief Herut supporter, MK David Magen, bitterly complained that the Likud faction was not summoned during the stormy three-day period following release of the report. Herut is the main component in the Likud.

The Likud's small Lagan faction, which is soon to merge with Herut, backed Sharon's efforts. The faction, which includes Health Minister Itzhak Shostak, said the commission's findings do not justify such severe conclusions.

Agudat Yisrael's four MKs rejected the commission's findings and expressed support for Sharon.

In the Likud's second largest faction, the Liberals, mavericks Dror Zeigerman and Yitzhak Berman — who quit as energy minister in September when Begin initially refused to set up an inquiry into the massacre — served notice that they would withhold their parliamentary support from any government in which Sharon is a member, regardless of his position in the cabinet.

But the Likud appeared to have succeeded in riding out the storm over Sharon's departure from his post. The party's entire Knesset faction on Friday unanimously endorsed the government's decision to implement the Kahan Commission report, and apart from Berman and Zeigerman, the entire faction appeared to back Sharon's continued membership in the cabinet, though not as defence minister.

Prime Minister Begin, who took part in the meeting along with other Likud ministers except for Sharon, dismissed criticism that the government had deliberated too long after the Kahan report had been published. In all, he stressed, the government had met for 10 hours over three days.

"How is it possible that over so difficult and crucial a question, we would decide without careful

deliberation and without full consideration. The foreign minister, who was mentioned in the report, was out of the country, as were the energy and science ministers. It was only fair that we let them have their word too," Begin said.

"Then the chief of staff asked that we give a hearing to the officers censured by the report. Not to have done so would have plainly been unjust. How could we refuse such a request? Are we operating with a stop watch in hand? It is wicked nonsense to say that the government did not decide in time."

Following last Thursday night's cabinet vote that Sharon give up his portfolio he took his leave with warm words and a handshake from Begin, and with harsh words for his other colleagues.

Ministers said last week that Sharon had lost what residual sympathy there was for him among ministers by a clumsy, confused and high-handed performance at the cabinet.

Sharon tried to ward off the cabinet blow by proposing an alternative motion that the recommendations of the commission be re-examined. But he could not muster the required number of four ministers to table this as a formal motion, so it was not put to the vote.

Begin, after three days of virtual silence, concluded the final debate by coming down firmly in favour of accepting the report. "There is no choice," was the premier's theme. He spoke of his "pain and grief" and heaped praise on Sharon and on the senior officers affected by the findings.

Ministers claimed Thursday night that the fatal grenade explosion outside the cabinet office while their meeting was going on had not affected their deliberations. Nevertheless, they conceded that when, towards the end of the session and after the grenade had gone off, Begin once again canvassed their views on deferring the decision, there was a unanimity, steered by a fear that such incidents might recur unless the issue was settled without further delay.

The cabinet decision does not distinguish between recommendations concerning the political echelon and recommendations concerning



Prime Minister Begin pleads to demonstrators for calm after last Thursday night's grenade attack outside the Prime Minister's Office, where the cabinet had been meeting. (Rahamim Israeli)

the military echelon, despite a plea by the two senior IDF officers most affected, the intelligence chief Aluf Saguy (who must quit his post) and the Herut divisional commander Itzhak Yaron (who may not hold another field command for the next three years at least).

One minister predicted that although all the recommendations were being accepted now, and would be implemented, the cabinet might decide at a later date to attenuate the severity of the sanctions against the senior officers.

Deputy Premier David Levy worked behind the scenes all day last Thursday with Finance Minister Yoram Aridor to ensure a convincing majority for implementation of the recommendations both within and among the factions making up the coalition.

Levy and Aridor wanted to make sure that if Begin were left with no alternative but to resign in order to dislodge Sharon, all the coalition partners would tell President

Yitzhak Navon that they would only rejoin a coalition led by Begin.

The two Herut ministers, who had criticized Sharon on several occasions since the war began, were reportedly "disgusted" with Sharon's declarations on Tuesday and Wednesday that he would not resign of his own volition.

Levy, in an impassioned speech at last Thursday's cabinet meeting, cautioned that any delay in coming to a decision entails the risk of erosion in the government's credibility. "This government will be seen as powerless to come to a decision and it will be accused of deceit," he said.

(Compiled from reports by Sarah Honig, David Landau and Asher Wolfsh.)

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Division in opposition over strategy

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Alignment's leaders have been meeting in special sessions to try to work out a common policy over how the government is seeking to implement the Kahan Commission report.

In the background is growing disension within Alignment ranks on the tactics adopted by the party leadership since the report's publication. The leadership had in fact embarked on a two-phase plan. The first was to demand that the government adopt the commission's recommendations and the second called for an attempt to bring the government down. The hope apparently was that the government would not stay united through the first stage and that the coalition would then break up.

Then, Labour's strategists envisioned, the Alignment would team up with the coalition's breakaway factions and would set up an alter-

native coalition. However, other voices in the party called for an immediate demand that the whole government resign in view of the report. They say that had that been the battle cry, the government would have found it much harder to get off the political hook. As things stand now, the coalition bond is, reportedly, more powerfully cemented than before and the two-phase Labour strategy has failed.

Labour, it is said, now has little hope of preventing Knesset approval of the switching of portfolios in the cabinet that will leave Defence Minister Ariel Sharon out of the Defence Ministry but still in the cabinet.

Moreover, any no-confidence motion at this point is not given much of a chance. The government now, according to Labour insiders, stands a good chance of surviving till the end of its term in November 1985.

For this reason, there was little enthusiasm in Labour at the weekend

for the no-confidence motion which the two-man opposition Shinui party in the Knesset plans to table in the House.

Shinui MK Amnon Rubinstein said at the weekend that, in his party's view, the Kahan Commission calls for the ouster of Sharon from the cabinet and not just from the Defence Ministry. Thus, to his mind, the government would not be adhering to the recommendations if Sharon were allowed to remain in the cabinet.

This is also Labour's view and Labour leaders are expected to emphasize this point and argue that the government had not in fact implemented the commission's recommendations fully.

At a meeting at the weekend Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres spoke of "the dignity and restraint" the Alignment has displayed since publication of the Kahan Commission's report by giving the government a chance to act free from "political and parliamentary pressure" by the opposition.

THE KAHAN REPORT: MILITARY ASPECTS

IDF prepares for command changes

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

The military is waiting for instructions from the government on how to proceed to apply the recommendations of the Kahan Commission report pertaining to Israel Defence Forces officers.

Instructions will most probably be transmitted soon to Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan to implement the recommendations and to replace Intelligence Chief Yehoshua Saguy and Chief Infantry and Paratroop Officer Amos Yaron. Because Eitan's term of duty expires in April, the commission recommended that no steps be taken against him.

The only immediate problem is Saguy. Yaron could stay on as chief paratroop and infantry officer if he gives up his emergency command posting. He thus would comply with the commission's recommendation that he not hold a command position for three years, while at the same time maintain his current status on the general staff.

In Saguy's case, however, the commission stipulated that he be removed from his post as OC Intelligence. It did not say that he had to leave the army, and it is quite possible that he will be offered a headquarters staff job. In coming months both Aluf Moshe Nativ, OC Manpower, and Chief Ordnance and Supply Officer Aluf Yohanan Gur are due to leave active service.

Saguy could also take a year's sabbatical at the IDF's expense, as



Avigdor Ben-Gal...a possible successor to Chief of Staff Eitan



Moshe Levy

is usual with officers of his rank when passing from one senior posting to another.

There will be no discussion about the choice of the next chief of staff. The Jerusalem Post was told, until a new defence minister has been chosen. "It is inconceivable that the next defence minister, who will undoubtedly take over before Eitan leaves, should have no say in who

his chief of staff will be. There's no hurry," an official said at the weekend.

Two names are being spoken of as successors to Eitan: former OC Northern Command Avigdor Ben-Gal, currently on study leave in the U.S. (though he came back to command the eastern front during the Lebanon War), and incumbent Deputy Chief-of-Staff Moshe Levy. A third candidate is former OC Southern Command Dan Shomron, also on leave, whose prospects are said to be less likely, unless the government decides it wants an officer who was in no way connected with the war.

(Similar logic was applied by the Labour government in 1974, when it named Mordechai Gur, Israel's defence attache in Washington during the Yom Kippur War, to replace the late David Elazar as chief-of-staff.)

On Friday all the general staff and many other senior officers attended a meeting. The Kahan Commission and its findings were not discussed formally, though they were the primary topic of private conversation.

Observers expect the changes in command recommended by the commission to be implemented on Monday, to coincide with the planned handing over of the defence ministry by Ariel Sharon.

"It's best to get it done with at one shot, and not let the problem linger," The Post was told.

(The military realities, page 11.)

Arens on rocky road to defence job

By SARAH HONIG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Although the job being vacated by Defence Minister Ariel Sharon may be offered to Israel's ambassador in Washington, Moshe Arens, the prospect is far from certain at this juncture.

Sources close to Prime Minister Begin said that the premier wants Arens to be his new defence minister but will hold on to Sharon's portfolio himself for the moment. Begin thinks very highly of Arens and has full confidence in him. Arens is Begin's first choice. He had, in fact, offered Arens the portfolio in 1980, when the then Defence Minister Ezer Weizmann resigned. However, Arens declined since he did not agree with the government's stand on the evacuation of Northern Sinai.

With that thorny obstacle now out of the way, it is thought that Arens would be far more amenable to accepting the portfolio. He would prove to be a popular defence minister at least in Herut, since he is one of the most hawkish of the party leaders and is not expected to be any "softer" on most issues than Sharon.

But the sources stressed that the prime minister is afraid of a Liberal Party counter-demand for more portfolios. They conceded that the Liberal's behaviour had on the whole been "unexpectedly exemplary." However, there is little faith in the Prime Minister's Office that the Liberal wing of Mr. Begin's Likud coalition will maintain its good behaviour for long.

They note that when the government was first constituted, there was a ratio of eight Herut ministers in the cabinet, including Begin himself, to six Liberals. With the



Moshe Arens

resignation of Liberal Yitzhak Berman, there are now only five Liberal ministers.

If Arens is co-opted to the cabinet and Sharon remains a minister, the fear among Begin's aides is that the Liberals will protest at the worsened ratio.

Begin, his aides say, will put out feelers to his cabinet about an Arens appointment. If the Liberals don't object, Begin would officially offer the portfolio to Arens. Otherwise, chances are that he will keep the portfolio until he can prevail on the Liberals.

The fear in the Prime Minister's Office is that the Liberals might propose one of their own for the job. The Liberal Youth wing has already mentioned Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i. However, Moda'i said at the weekend that "If Begin should choose Arens for the post of defence minister, he will have made a very good choice."

Washington correspondent, Wolf Blitzer, reports: Reagan administration officials

welcomed the news that Sharon is resigning and that Arens is likely to replace him.

Privately, they expressed concern that Sharon was likely to remain in the cabinet as a minister-without-portfolio. Sharon has been the most consistent source of official U.S. displeasure because of his headline views.

With Sharon no longer directly in charge of defence policy, U.S. officials said, the American-Israeli relationship is bound to improve.

Senior U.S. policymakers have no illusions that the Sharon resignation is going to result in a dramatic, overnight shift in Israeli policy. Still, personalities have come to play an important role in setting the tone of the relationship.

Arens, moreover, has won the respect of many U.S. officials during his year in Washington. He came as a "hawk," and returns to Israel as one, but his views on several important issues have moderated during this period.

For one thing, he has become much more sensitive to the concerns of Israel's best friends in Washington — senators like Democrat Henry Jackson of Washington state or Republican Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota. His private discussions with these Israeli activists, including those in the Jewish community, have had an impact on his thinking.

Arens said at the weekend that any talk of his appointment was "premature."

Well placed Israeli sources here said this week that Arens was anxious to make certain that if he should become defence minister, he would have full control and that Sharon — as a minister-without-portfolio — would not interfere in his responsibility.

Pros and Kahans



A worker at the Popick Building on the Givat Ram campus of the Hebrew University headquarters of the Kahan Commission, brings out stacks of commission reports for public release. (Yitzhak Harari)

The Kahan Commission reached its verdict, published in a full report on Wednesday, February 9. The report concluded that members of Israel's government and the IDF bear indirect responsibility for massacres in Beirut's Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in mid-September.

The report's publication set off a chain of political crises, heated debates and even tragic violence, as the pros and cons of this volatile issue are judged by the Israeli public and its elected representatives.

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Erwin Frankel
Editor

Why no Lebanese report?

WITH THE release of the Kahan Commission's report on the Sabra and Shatila massacre, many influential Americans are asking an obvious question: why has the Lebanese Government of President Amin Gemayel failed to come out with its own findings on the tragic affair?

Republican Senator Charles Percy of Illinois, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was effusive in praise for Israel in undertaking the sensitive and exhaustive investigation. "This is an example of the fact that democracy is alive and well in Israel, that the process really works," he said.

Percy, who has often been critical of Israeli policies, contrasted that openness in Israel to the silence elsewhere on the massacres. In Lebanon, he noted, there has been "no real, serious attempts to find out who actually fired the shells that murdered and slaughtered innocent people."

The Kahan Commission was categorical in identifying the actual killers — namely, the Lebanese Christian Phalange, under the command of intelligence chief Elias Hobeika. But given the power of the Phalange in Lebanon today, the fact that Amin Gemayel himself is the nominal leader of that group, any determined investigation — at least now — is out of the question.

This was underlined by Thomas Friedman, the respected Beirut Bureau chief of *The New York Times*, in a national radio interview last Wednesday.

In Lebanon, the case of the Sabra and Shatila massacres was put into the hands of a military prosecutor, Assad Germanos. Friedman made it clear that nothing can be expected to come out of this Lebanese investigation. That means, he said, that the Kahan report will probably stand as the definitive historic account.

Wolf Blitzer writes from Washington

"There's been no serious effort to interview witnesses or to find out what happened," Friedman said, referring to the Lebanese inquiry. "As Mr. Germanos told me during a recent interview, he figured out the where and the when of the massacre, but he still doesn't know the who and the how."

ASKED WHY this was so difficult for Germanos, Friedman replied: "Because the very people who perpetrated the massacre are probably several hundred yards from his office, and to come out and to name them would not only be dangerous for him but, given the fact the man who now rules Lebanon was the candidate of the Phalangist militia and party (it would be politically explosive for Lebanon)."

This fact of political life in Lebanon, Friedman said, was a source of concern to some people in the country but they, too, are afraid to speak out for the same reasons Germanos fears pursuing the matter. Thus, Friedman agreed that the whole Lebanese investigation was simply a complete whitewash. "You couldn't describe it any better. Basically, they have turned a blind eye to the events there and simply chose to put all of the blame for the massacre on the Israelis, while ignoring the fact it was, in the end of the day, Christian militiamen who actually carried out the killings."

U.S. State Department officials are fully aware of, and deeply embarrassed by, this refusal of the U.S.-backed Lebanese Government to undertake a serious investigation. But they have refused to criticize President Gemayel, fearing that any such outside criticism would merely undermine Gemayel's authority —

limited as it currently is.

Friedman said that the Kahan report is crucial, because "We cannot expect any serious investigation from the Lebanese Government. ... I think the Israeli investigation is important, not only for delineating the indirect Israeli responsibility in this massacre, but it also serves as the investigation into the Phalangist role in this massacre. The Israeli investigation, in other words, will stand as, I think, the only clear-cut and detailed analysis of what the Christian militiamen did in the camps, and how they, alone, were directly responsible for the murder of the civilians there."

That is also the view of respected U.S. government specialists on Lebanon interviewed in recent days. President Reagan, they say, is living in a dream world if he thinks the U.S. Marines are going to return home very soon.

In commenting on the report last week, President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz enthusiastically praised Israeli democracy "in action," while insisting that they do not wish to interfere in domestic Israeli politics by saying anything substantive about the development.

Privately, they have made it clear to aides and others that they see Israel as the major obstacle in the way of an early troop-withdrawal agreement in Lebanon.

U.S. officials believe Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's removal could result in a more flexible Israeli stance in the Lebanese negotiations as well as in the broader Arab-Israeli peace talks. To back this assessment, they have privately cited apparent differences among Israeli officials — with Sharon consistently more hardline than Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche.



A member of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon defends his views in an argument in Jerusalem's Ben-Yehuda Mall on Friday. (Rahamim Israeli)

DEMONSTRATOR'S DEATH

(Continued from page 1)

that the slain man was an intellectual who loved people and feared what was happening to Israel.

During the Peace Now march to the prime minister's office Grunzweig had been in the forefront of the line, warding off attacks by hooligans along the way.

Peace Now issued a statement blaming the murder on "those who turned contempt of the law into a norm."

President Yitzhak Navon called the blast "a shocking act — verbal violence inevitably leads to physical violence."

There had been threats on the lives of members of the Kahan Commission earlier in the week, and Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir ordered that they be protected.

whom support Begin and Sharon — revealed considerable concern about the dangers of civil strife. But they also displayed something approaching indifference about the victim.

One taxi driver said all the Peace Now members "should be put up against the wall and shot." A typesetter near Mahane Yehuda market, Nahum Meiri, said, "I wouldn't be surprised if the Peace Now people threw the grenade themselves as a provocation."

The owner of a plumbing fixture shop said that the problem began with Labour "stirring up the muck and demanding an investigation — but you don't solve problems with grenades." He added that "this arouses deep worries in me that we might be heading towards some kind of civil war because of Lebanon."

Herut Knesset faction chairman Ronnie Milo has asked Prime Minister Begin to invite Labour chairman Shimon Peres to meet together and "attempt to put an end to inflamed passions."

Milo's move follows Peres' statement in a radio interview in which he said he would be willing to meet Begin with the aim of restoring mutual tolerance and understanding and preventing any more political violence.

Demonstrations and memorial services were held in many parts of the country in the days following the blast. Kibbutz and moshav members held vigils along major highways. Police promised that student demonstrators in Jerusalem would be given adequate protection. Peace Now began a seven-day vigil on the spot where Grunzweig was slain. Thousands of Tel Avivians held an all-night memorial service in Kikar Malchei Yisrael.

Thousands of other demonstrators marched in Tel Aviv to demand withdrawal from Lebanon and peace negotiations with the Palestinians. The demonstration was organized by the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, the Yesh Gvul ("there's a limit") group of reservists opposed to serving in Lebanon, kibbutz members and members of the Holocaust Survivors Association.

(Compiled from reports by Ya'acov Friedler, Abraham Rabinovich, Dvora Getzler, Haim Shapiro, Michal Yudelman and Sarah Honig)



Emil Grunzweig

The police have set up a special squad to investigate the grenade blast, and scores of witnesses swamped the police switchboard with calls last week. One woman reported that immediately after the Peace Now demonstrators had sung the national anthem, *Hatikva*, there was a cry of "Now!" from a hilltop overlooking the rally. The hilltop had been the spot where a group of youths had been shouting hostile remarks throughout the rally.

Interviews on the streets of Jerusalem on Friday revealed a dark underside to Israeli society that had been exposed by the blast — an ethnic-political alienation so broad that it may threaten the conventions that hold a pluralistic society together.

Conversations with a dozen Sephardi/Oriental Jews — all of

KAHAN COMMISSION

The report that shook the nation

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Kahan Commission, appointed by the government last October to investigate the events surrounding the massacre by Lebanese Christian Forces of Palestinians in two refugee camps in southern Beirut the month before, published its findings last week — a slim, buff-coloured book which has unleashed a political earthquake.

The commission found the Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, Chief-of-Staff Rav-Aluf (Lieut.-General) Rafael Eitan, Director of Military Intelligence Aluf (Major-General) Yehoshua Saguy and the chief IDF Paratroop and Infantry officer Tat-Aluf (Brigadier) Amos Yaron all bore individual responsibility for failing to prevent or to stop the massacres at Sabra and Shatila.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin was found responsible for displaying indifference to the reports that the Phalange had entered the Palestinian refugee camps.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir was severely criticized for not verifying reports he had received of killings in the camps.

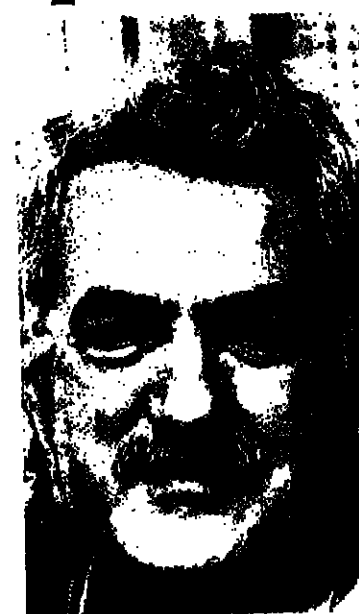
OC Northern Command Aluf (Major-General) Amir Drori was faulted for not continuing earlier steps to check the Phalange behaviour in the camps and to ensure the safety of the civilian population.

No specific recommendations were made regarding these three men.

The head of the Mossad — Israel's non-military security service — and Avi Dudai, personal aide to the defence minister, were cleared of responsibility. (The name of the head of the Mossad is kept secret.)

The commission — Justice Yitzhak Kahan, the outgoing president of the Supreme Court, Justice Aharon Barak and Aluf (Res.) Yona Efrat — also unequivocally placed direct responsibility for the massacres on the Lebanese Christian Phalange Forces and dismiss suggestions that IDF soldiers took part in the killings as "groundless...and baseless libel. Nor was there any indication of a conspiracy between anyone in the Israeli political or military echelon and the Phalange with regard to the camps, the report said."

At the same time, however, the commission bluntly rejects the government's assertion at the time, which was reflected in a cabinet statement on September 19, that Israel bears no responsibility for acts "perpetrated outside its



Saguy



Yaron



Drori

borders by members of the Christian community against Palestinians in that same country."

Maj. Sa'ad Haddad, the commander of the Southern Lebanese militia, was also cleared of any involvement in the massacres.

The report makes a clear and basic distinction between the direct responsibility of the Phalange which is detailed in the first section of the report entitled "Description of Events," and between the indirect responsibility of the Israeli government, the IDF, the Mossad and other Israeli agencies or individuals.

The commission mentions that other institutions, too, might bear indirect responsibility. It singles out the Lebanese Army, the U.S. government and the governments of the contingents of the multi-national force in Beirut.

The structure of the commission's report leaves the impression that at least part of it was agreed upon before the formal warning letters to the nine persons were sent on November 24, and even before the final draft was ready. The commission stresses that it agreed on a standard by which it judged the major politicians and military officers, namely, their anticipation of Phalange behaviour towards the Palestinians.

"In our view, everyone who had anything to do with events in Lebanon should have felt apprehension about a massacre in the camps, if armed Phalangist forces were to be moved into them without the IDF exercising concrete and effective supervision and scrutiny of them."

The carefully worded and meticulously reasoned report focuses on the activities of the nine individuals named last November, seven of whom were eventually singled out for severe criticism. But the report also emphasises the role of commissions of inquiry in the Israeli democratic system which "is obligated to consider not necessarily the legal aspects of the subject but also, and occasionally primarily, its public and moral aspects." The commission also recalls relevant principles of Jewish law and the lessons of Jewish suffering under exile or foreign rule.

In a short chapter entitled "Closing Remarks," the commission appears to set forth its credo about the maintenance of civilized values in the face of the brutalizing influence of war. "It seems to us that the IDF should continue to foster the (consciousness of) basic moral obligations which must be kept even in war conditions, without prejudicing the IDF's combat ability...But the end never justifies the means, and basic ethical and human values must be maintained in the use of arms."

"The main purpose of the inquiry...has importance from the perspective of Israel's moral fortitude and its functioning as a democratic state that scrupulously maintains the fundamental principles of the civilized world. We do not deceive ourselves that the results of this inquiry will convince or satisfy those who have prejudices or selective consciences, but this inquiry was not intended for such people."

The report's recapitulation of the

events surrounding the massacres include new details of when information about the killings was first received by Israeli forces in Beirut or at the General Staff Headquarters in Tel Aviv.

There are also specific recommendations to re-examine decision-making and reporting procedures not only within the various sections of the army, but at cabinet level as well. Telephone discussions and conversations between the prime minister and his colleagues or senior officers are not sufficiently logged or recorded, it was found.

The commission's findings also expose long-suspected tensions between director of Military Intelligence Saguy, and Sharon and Eitan, and between military intelligence and the Mossad who strongly favoured close cooperation with the Phalange. There are also hints of tensions between Eitan and Drori.

Some of the commission's severest language is reserved for Saguy, who was found lacking in almost every relevant aspect of his role as chief of Military Intelligence. The commission rejected his defence that he would have been ignored anyway, pointing out that Saguy could have resigned if he felt his views and those of his advisers were not receiving sufficient attention.

Eitan, who is singled out for "grave conclusions," was spared specific recommendations because of his impending retirement. But the commission nonetheless saw fit to write "...it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the chief of staff ignored this danger out of an

awareness that there were great advantages to sending the Phalangists into the camps, and perhaps also out of a hope that in the final analysis, the Phalangist excesses would not be on a large scale."

During Sharon's open testimony, he indicated that the decision to allow the Phalange into the camps had originated with Eitan. One of Eitan's advisers presented a contradictory version, claiming that Sharon issued the order to Eitan on Tuesday, September 14. The commission found the decision was, in fact, taken jointly by both men during a visit to Beirut on Wednesday morning, September 15.

The commission records, without comment, that this decision was not brought to the attention of the prime minister, apparently implying that this is a question of the political and personal relationship between the premier, his defence minister and the chief of staff over which it has no particular jurisdiction.

But the commission also rejects the claim of Begin and Sharon that a cabinet decision regarding Phalange participation of June 15 served as the basis for the decision to allow Phalange entry into West Beirut following the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel.

The estimates of army intelligence of between 700 and 800 dead in the camps are accepted by the commission as probably the most realistic number.

The commission notes that disciplinary or criminal proceedings still may be brought against some of the individuals it has singled out and others not mentioned specifically in the report.

Legal observers have noted this and there was speculation last week that the attorney-general might also have to consider the possibility of bringing charges of manslaughter on the grounds of criminal negligence against some of the central personalities singled out in the report.

The commission specifically rejects the contention that a distinction should be made between the personal responsibility of the political and military echelons. It notes that none of the persons it singled out or their lawyers advanced this argument. Nonetheless, the absence of any specific recommendation regarding the prime minister, even though it found he bore "a certain degree of responsibility" because of his lack of involvement, must indicate that insofar as he is concerned, judgment must be in the political arena.

New Habib plan for withdrawal

U.S. presidential envoy Philip Habib arrived in Beirut at the weekend amid reports he has devised a plan for a three-stage 10 week withdrawal of Syrian, Israeli and Palestinian forces from Lebanon.

The plan envisions a boost of the multinational peacekeeping force in Beirut to 10,000 men from its present level of 4,700 U.S. and French marines and Italian and British troops, Lebanon's state and privately owned radio stations said.

Reports from Washington suggested that Habib was seeking a compromise that would get Israel to settle for informal ties and a non-belligerency pact as a price for a military withdrawal from Lebanon instead of a formal treaty and legalized free trade and tourism between the two nations.

All four Beirut-based radio stations said the Lebanese Government of Gemayel has accepted the Habib-proposed timetable for a three-stage withdrawal of foreign armies within 10 weeks of signing an overall agreement to end the Lebanese crisis.

The radio stations did not report Israel's response to the plan.

However, reports from Israel say that the defence establishment has been working on an alternate plan for the future of Lebanon on the assumption that the current peace

talks might fail. This includes a future role for Major Haddad, the Christian militia leader in south Lebanon.

Defence Ministry sources last week reiterated to *The Post* that Israel will take all the steps necessary to ensure security for the Galilee and to prevent the return of the terrorists, "even if this means a *de facto* division of Lebanon into spheres of influence."

Observers last week were convinced that the overt gestures being made by Israel to Haddad as the leader of an independent south Lebanese entity closely aligned with Israel were not a negotiating tactic only.

The population of southern Lebanon is only 10 to 12 per cent Christian, and at present Israel is trying to develop a *modus vivendi* between the Christian population and the Shi'ites who comprise 60 per cent of the population. The Shia military organization Amal and Haddad's militias have tense relations. There is also tension between the Druse community (about 10 per cent of the population) and the Sunnis (20 per cent) and Haddad.

Israeli attempts to form a cohesive, pro-Israeli bulwark against terrorism in the south have been complicated and protracted. The Amal group has close allegiance to members of the move-

ment in the north, while the Druse-Phalange conflict in the Shouf Mountains has spilled over into the south as well, though it is under the surface at present.

There have meanwhile been no reports of any breakthrough in the continuing negotiations between Israeli, Lebanese and U.S. officials to solve the Lebanese crisis.

In Washington, President Reagan last week accused Israel of "unnecessarily" delaying its withdrawal from Lebanon.

In his strongest statement against Israel's position in Lebanon to date, the president also said that Israel was neglecting the moral aspects of the situation.

Reagan said that Israel's army in Lebanon had become an occupying army since the government of Lebanon had informed Israel that "we want you to depart." Reagan, meeting with reporters, said that his administration would be willing to increase the U.S. participation in the Multinational Peace-keeping Force if that war required to bring stability to the country.

Meanwhile U.S. officials have said that the administration reacted as sharply as it did to the recent incident involving a U.S. marine and an Israeli tank commander in Beirut partly because the Pentagon strongly suspected that Israel was deliberately seeking to provoke Washington.



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THE KAHAN COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS AND CLOSING REMARKS

'The end never justifies the means'

RECOMMENDATIONS

With regard to the following recommendations concerning a group of men who hold senior positions in the Government and the Israel Defense Forces, we have taken into account [the fact] that each one of these men has to his credit [the performance of] many public or military services rendered with sacrifice and devotion on behalf of the State of Israel. If nevertheless we have reached the conclusion that it is incumbent upon us to recommend certain measures against some of these men, it is out of the recognition that the gravity of the matter and its implications for the underpinnings of public morality in the State of Israel call for such measures.

The Prime Minister, The Foreign Minister, and the Head of the Mossad

We have heretofore established the facts and conclusions with regard to the responsibility of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the head of the Mossad.

(On Premier Menachem Begin: "For two days after the Prime Minister heard about the Phalangists' entry, he showed absolutely no interest in their actions in the camps. The Prime Minister's lack of involvement in the entire matter casts on him a certain degree of responsibility.")

(On Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir: "...the Foreign Minister did not make any real attempt to check whether there was anything in what he had heard from Minister Zippori on the Phalangists' operations in the camps because he had an *a priori* sceptical attitude toward the statements of the minister... it is difficult to find a justification for such disdain...")

(On the head of the Mossad — the non-military security service — whose name is a state secret and who only assumed his post four days before the massacre: "...the head of the Mossad was obligated to express his opinion at the Cabinet meeting on the entry of the Phalangists and deal in this expression of opinion with the dangers involved in the Phalangists' operations... (but because he was new on the job)... this inaction of the head of the Mossad should not be considered serious...")

In view of what we have determined with regard to the extent of the responsibility of each of them, we are of the opinion that it is sufficient to determine responsibility and there is no need for any further recommendations.

G.O.C. Northern Command Major General Amir Drori

We have detailed above our conclusions with regard to the responsibility of G.O.C. Northern Command Major General Amir Drori. Major General Drori was charged with many difficult and complicated tasks during the week the I.D.F. entered West Beirut, missions which he had to accomplish after a long period of difficult warfare. He took certain measures for terminating the Phalangists' actions, and his guilt lies in that he did not



Justice Yitzhak Kahan

continue with these notions. Taking into account these circumstances, it appears to us that it is sufficient to determine the responsibility of Major General Drori without recourse to any further recommendation.

The Minister of Defense, Mr. Ariel Sharon

We have found, as has been detailed in this report, that the Minister of Defense bears personal responsibility. In our opinion, it is fitting that the Minister of Defense draw the appropriate personal conclusions arising out of the defects revealed with regard to the manner in which he discharged the duties of his office — and if necessary, that the Prime Minister consider whether he should exercise his authority under Section 21-A(a) of the Basic Law: the Government, according to which "the Prime Minister may, after informing the Cabinet of his intention to do so, remove a minister from office."

The Chief of Staff, Lt.-Gen. Rafael Eitan

We have arrived at grave conclusions with regard to the acts and omissions of the Chief of Staff, Lt.-Gen. Rafael Eitan. The Chief of Staff is about to complete his term of service in April, 1983. Taking into account the fact that an extension of his term is not under consideration, there is no practical significance to a recommendation with regard to his continuing in office as Chief of Staff, and therefore we have resolved that it is sufficient to determine responsibility without making any further recommendations.

The Director of Military Intelligence, Major General Yehoshua Saguy

We have detailed the various ex-



Justice Aharon Barak

tremely serious omissions of the Director of Military Intelligence, Major General Yehoshua Saguy, in discharging the duties of his office. We recommend that Major General Yehoshua Saguy not continue as Director of Military Intelligence.

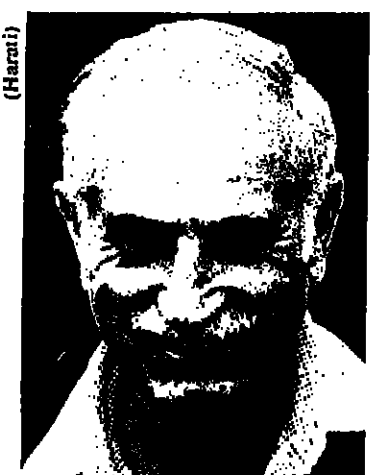
Division Commander Brigadier General, Amos Yaron

We have detailed above the extent of the responsibility of Brigadier General Amos Yaron. Taking into account all the circumstances, we recommend that Brigadier General Amos Yaron not serve in the capacity of a field commander in the Israel Defense Forces, and that this recommendation not be reconsidered before three years have passed.

In the course of this inquiry, shortcomings in the functioning of [several] establishments have been revealed, as described in the chapter dealing with this issue. One must learn the appropriate lessons from these shortcomings, and we recommend that, in addition to internal control in this matter, an investigation into the shortcomings and the manner of correcting them be undertaken by an expert or experts, to be appointed by a Ministerial Defense Committee. If in the course of this investigation it be found that certain persons bear responsibility for these shortcomings, it is fitting that the appropriate conclusions be drawn in their regard, whether in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the military legal code, or in some other manner.

CLOSING REMARKS

In the witnesses' testimony and in various documents, stress is laid on the difference between the usual battle ethics of the I.D.F. and the



Aluf (res.) Yona Ephraim

battle ethics of the bloody clashes and combat actions among the various ethnic groups, militias, and fighting forces in Lebanon. The difference is considerable. In the war the I.D.F. waged in Lebanon, many civilians were injured and much loss of life was caused, despite the effort the I.D.F. and its soldiers made not to harm civilians. On more than one occasion, this effort caused I.D.F. troops additional casualties. During the months of the war, I.D.F. soldiers witnessed many sights of killing, destruction, and ruin. From their reactions (about which we have heard) to acts of brutality against civilians, it would appear that despite the terrible sights and experiences of the war and despite the soldier's obligation to behave as a fighter with a certain degree of callousness, I.D.F. soldiers did not lose their sensitivity to atrocities that were perpetrated on non-combatants either out of cruelty or to give vent to vengeful feelings. It is regrettable that the reaction by I.D.F. soldiers to such deeds was not always forceful enough to bring a halt to the despicable acts. It seems to us that the I.D.F. should continue to foster the [consciousness of] basic moral obligations which must be kept even in war conditions, without prejudicing the I.D.F.'s combat ability. The circumstances of combat require the combatants to be tough — which means to give priority to sticking to the objective and being willing to make sacrifices — in order to attain the objectives assigned to them, even under the most difficult conditions. But the end never justifies the means, and basic ethical and human values must be maintained in the use of arms.

Among the responses to the commission from the public, there were those who expressed dissatisfaction with the holding of an inquiry on a subject not directly related to Israel's responsibility. The argument was advanced that in previous instances of massacre in Lebanon, when the lives of many more people were taken than those of the victims who fell in Sabra and Shatilla, world opinion was not shocked and no inquiry commissions were established. We cannot justify this approach to the issue of holding an inquiry, and not only for the formal reason that it was not we who decided to hold the inquiry, but rather the Israeli Government resolved thereon. The main purpose of the inquiry was to bring to light all the important facts relating to the perpetration of the atrocities; it therefore has importance from the perspective of Israel's moral fortitude and its functioning as a democratic state that scrupulously maintains the fundamental principles of the civilized world.

We do not deceive ourselves that the results of this inquiry will convince or satisfy those who have prejudices or selective consciences, but this inquiry was not intended for such people. We have striven and have spared no effort to arrive at the truth, and we hope that all persons of good will who will examine the issue without prejudice will be convinced that the inquiry was conducted without any bias.

Transcripts from the commission hearings which were conducted in open session have already been made public. In accordance with regulation 8(b) of the Commission of Inquiry Regulations (Rules of Procedure) 1969, we resolve that the right to examine the transcripts from those sessions which were held in camera, as well as Appendix B to the report, will be given to all members of the cabinet, all members of the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces, and any *parásh* or class of persons which may be determined by the Ministerial Defense Committee. Similarly, the right to examine Appendix B is given to those persons who received a notice in accordance with section 15(a) of the law, and to their representatives who appeared before the commission.

This report was signed on 7 February 1983.

Yitzhak Kahan
Commission Chairman
Aharon Barak
Commission Member
Yona Ephraim
Commission Member

(Attached to the report were three appendices:

- The letters of warning sent to nine persons on November 24, 1982;
- A list of the stages in Operation Peace for Galilee;
- A secret appendix.)



The panel's investigators, from left: Edna Arbel, deputy Tel Aviv district attorney; Dorit Beinlich, of the Justice Ministry; and Nitzav Mishne Alex Is-Shalom, senior police investigator.

COMMENTARY

The one-man myth

By YOSEF GOELL

WHEN David Ben-Gurion resigned as prime minister and minister of defence in 1963 after close to 14 years at the helm of the State of Israel, the Israeli man in the street — regardless of party affiliation — was in a panic. Who would continue to lead us in our life-and-death struggle against the Arab enemies who were determined to annihilate us?

The sense of panic was an expression of the extraordinary degree to which the man Ben-Gurion had become associated in the public's mind with the very existence of Israel.

The Israeli public has since grown to maturity, although it would seem that some among us have reverted to a second phase of childlike dependency. Six more ministers of defence have come, five have gone, and the sixth is on his way out. We have learned that the security of Israel is not dependent on one man, as it was not — in reality — dependent just on Ben-Gurion.

Ariel Sharon, no Ben-Gurion, did his damndest, in the face of the Kahan Commission's recommendation that he resign, to present himself as Israel's only bulwark against the nefarious intentions of Washington to deny this country the modicum of security it fought for in Lebanon and to ram the Reagan Plan down its throat.

This theory about Washington's intentions is open to different interpretations. But it is specifically those of us who are convinced that the Reagan Plan, and the thinking behind it, do constitute serious threats to Israel who should be profoundly disturbed by Sharon's posturing.

Given the assumption that the entire Israeli-Arab-Palestinian complex should, objectively speaking, be given only relatively low priority in Washington, the best hope of nudging the Reagan Plan towards a well-deserved demise would seem to lie not in seeking an abrasive frontal confrontation with Washington, but in just the reverse.

This is apparently something that Prime Minister Begin realized at the last minute in the comic-opera — yet profoundly dangerous — confrontation with the U.S. Marine detachment in Beirut. But not Sharon.

Most of the ministers in the Begin cabinet have at various times admitted that they felt themselves to have been bludgeoned, terrorized and politically threatened by the overbearing Sharon. Many other Likud politicians express similar sentiments, but in embarrassed, muted tones.

The embarrassment, the confusion, and the myth of Sharon's indispensability are largely the result of the growing evidence, in the eyes of Likud politicians who are close enough to see, of Prime Minister Begin's increasing ineffectiveness, lassitude and cyclical moodiness.

The Kahan Commission's report, which is at once just, harsh and painfully revealing, should cause the greatest concern specifically where it deals, with deadly kid gloves, with the litany of the prime minister's non-performance. It is because of this vacuum at the top that Sharon has sought to bulldoze his way to the fore.

What seems to have worked in his favour is that, after the removal from the scene of such countervail-

ing and stabilizing influences as Moshe Dayan, Ezer Weizman, Shmuel Tamir and Yigael Yadin, the Begin cabinet has become a replica of what Herut was for 34 years: a party of one towering, charismatic individual fitfully leading a flock of frightened, mindless sheep.

When Begin succumbed to the pressure of Sharon's popularity, and named him Defence Minister, a colleague expressed the opinion that Sharon could do a brilliant job, but only under a strong prime minister who would keep him constantly in check.

Which is exactly the point. The problem is not only, and not even primarily, Sharon. Israel's real problem is that it has not had a full-time prime minister who was all there "minding the shop" and keeping brilliant wild men like Sharon under control.

THE TABLING of the Kahan Report has been the occasion for comparisons with the Agranat Commission's findings on the Yom Kippur War. That commission has been justly faulted for pulling its punches in reserving its harshest castigation for the army commanders and letting the political leadership off scot-free.

But one of the Agranat findings bears repetition at this point. It was extremely critical of the confusion of command in the defence establishment and in the army that resulted from Defence Minister Moshe Dayan's behaving in the guise of a super-chief of staff.

The present situation is eerily reminiscent of that earlier case. Sharon, who became the political overlord of the military establishment after having been denied the position of chief of staff due to all intents and purposes as the super-chief of staff that the Agranat Commission warned against. The senior IDF commanders who are again bearing the brunt of the findings of an inquiry commission seem to be paying the price of the political establishment's determined disregard of those very sensible recommendations.

It is only natural that the report of an inquiry commission brings forth mainly harsh comments, such as my own here and those of nearly the entire press in the last few days. Some men, however, deserve praise. Two of these are Mordechai Zippori and David Levy, two of the very few non-sheep in the Begin cabinet.

Zippori's repeated criticism in the cabinet has tended to be written off by his colleagues and squelched by Mr. Begin. The fact of the matter is that he has been consistently right, and, together with David Levy, has been one of the few ministers to evince the sort of sensitivity that has been sorely lacking in the other political and military leaders who have been roundly castigated by the Kahan Commission.

Zippori and Levy have had lonely rows to hoe, and have at times muted their criticism, especially under Mr. Begin's withering gaze from the head of the cabinet table. They have both been the butts of nasty jokes. But on the principle that "in the land of the blind the one-eyed man is king," both deserve a public vote of thanks for the lonely tasks they have often assumed.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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What the prime minister should have been told

One section of the Kahan commission's report into the Beirut massacre discusses "the flaws in the course of decision-taking by the policy-making institutions" and "the flaws in the manner of handling the information which was received." Here are extracts from this section, which was headed "The functioning of establishments."

The decision on the entry of the Phalangists into the refugee camps was taken on Wednesday (15.9.82) in the morning. The Prime Minister was not then informed of the decision. The Prime Minister heard about the decision, together with all the other ministers, in the course of a report made by the Chief of Staff at the Cabinet session on Thursday (16.9.82) when the Phalangists were already in the camps. Thereafter, no report was made to the Prime Minister regarding the excesses of the Phalangists in the camps, and the Prime Minister learned about the events in the camps from a BBC broadcast on Saturday (18.9.82) afternoon. This state of affairs is unsatisfactory on two planes: first, the importance of the decision on the entry of the Phalangists, against the backdrop of the Lebanese situation as it was known to those concerned, required that the decision on having the Phalangists enter the camps be made with the prior approval of the Prime Minister. Moreover, once the decision had been taken without the Prime Minister's participation, orderly processes of government required that the decision be made known to him at the earliest possible moment. It is not proper procedure for the Prime Minister to hear about this decision in an incidental manner along with the other Cabinet ministers during a Cabinet session, when the Phalangists were already in the camps.

Second, once the decision was taken, orderly processes of government required that the Prime Minister be informed of any excesses committed. What the Defence

Minister, the Chief of Staff and the General of Command knew on Friday and on Saturday morning, the Prime Minister ought also to have known. It is inconceivable that the Prime Minister should receive his information about this from a foreign radio station.

As we have seen, the decision on the Phalangists' entry into the camps took final shape on Wednesday morning (15.9.82) on the roof of the divisional forward command post. When this decision was taken its ramifications were not examined, nor were its advantages and disadvantages weighed. This is explicable in that the decision was taken under pressure of time. Nonetheless, enough time existed before the Phalangists' entry on Thursday evening (16.9.82) to carry out a situation appraisal in which the decision, its manner of execution and its possible results could be examined. No such deliberation in fact took place. The discussion held by the Defence Minister on Thursday morning (exhibit 27), in which he said, "I would move the Phalangists into the camps," cannot be regarded as a situation appraisal in the usual sense of the term. The Chief of Staff told us that on Wednesday he ordered his deputy to hold a consultation among branch heads. Such a discussion did in fact take place in the late afternoon hours (exhibit 130), but it was a briefing and not a situation appraisal. The issue of the Phalangists' entry was mentioned in that discussion in a general manner, but the decision was not presented in detail, no examination was made of the security measures to be taken, and no evaluation was made of the possible ramifications of the decision.

The absence of the required staff discussion regarding the entry of the Phalangists into the camps was accompanied by another inevitable flaw. The information about the decision was not transmitted in an orderly fashion to all the parties who should have known about it. We have already seen that the

Prime Minister was unaware of the decision. The Foreign Minister, too, learned of the Phalangists' entry only in the Cabinet session. We have already cited the account of the director of Military Intelligence that he, too, did not learn about the decision until Friday morning. Although we have stated that we find it difficult to accept that account, this cannot justify the absence of an orderly report about the decision being made to all the various staff elements.

Thus, for example, it emerged that the Command Intelligence Officers were first briefed by the Command Intelligence Officer about the fact that the Phalangists would enter the camps on Thursday, some two hours after the operation had already commenced. According to the testimony of the Military Intelligence/Research Officers whose task it is to prepare situation appraisals, they received no prior information about the decision to have the Phalangists enter the camps.

As a result, that department was unable to prepare its own appraisals, as would have been expected of it prior to the Phalangists' entry into the camps. This also had a certain effect on the manner in which that department functioned at the stage when it received



Chief of Staff Eltan

the report about the 300 killed (Section 6, Appendix B).

The head of the Mossad learned of the decision only at the Cabinet session. Despite the fact that Mossad personnel were in Beirut when the events occurred, and maintained ongoing contacts with the Phalangist commanders, no report was received from them regarding the special role of the Phalangists in the camps prior to their entry, nor did they collect any data at all on events in the camps after the Phalangists had entered.

We find a similar picture also in the Operations Branch channels. Operations Branch Command did not receive an orderly report of what was happening in the field. As we have seen, already on Thursday evening and Friday morning — and throughout Friday — reports were collected by a considerable number of soldiers and officers who were near the camps. Only some of those reports — and those in fragmentary fashion — were brought to the attention of the Divisional Operations elements. Divisional Operations for its part did not relay the information it had in an orderly fashion to Command Operations elements. Thus, for example, the reports in the possession of Divisional Operations about the 300 killed (or the 120 killed) were not transmitted at all to Command Operations. The latter did not report (not even on the actual entry of the Phalangists into the camps) to Operations Branch/Operations. Thus, for example, the report about the 300 killed was received already on Thursday evening in Command Intelligence. For some reason that report was not conveyed (neither in its telephone form nor in the form of the subsequent cable) to the knowledge of the Command Intelligence Officer. The report was not transmitted to Command Operations, and *ipso facto* was not brought to the knowledge of the G.O.C., either that evening or the following day. Similarly, no orderly report was made regarding the decision of the G.O.C. Northern Command about

halting the operations of the Phalangists.

The reports that were received via the various channels were also not always handled according to the standing procedures, the result being that the reports sometimes became worthless. Sometimes, reports received were not recorded in the designated log books; reports that were relayed were sometimes transmitted with important omissions, which prevented their being handled properly. Reports that were dealt with (such as the handling of the report about the 300 killed within the framework of Military Intelligence/Research) were at times handled superficially, with a fruitless internal runaround and without exhausting the various possibilities for verification and examination.

In the course of the testimony we heard, we often came across conversations — whether face-to-face or over the telephone or radio — between highly responsible personnel. Contradictions were often evident in the testimony about these conversations — not out of any intention to conceal the truth, but as a natural result of flaws in human memory. There is no satisfactory explanation of why no notes were taken of these conversations. The Prime Minister held many conversations with the Defence Minister and the Chief of Staff, including the conversations in which the decision was taken to seize key positions in West Beirut. It is not surprising, therefore, if a certain difference exists between the Prime Minister's version of a guideline issued by him; and that of the Chief of Staff regarding the guideline he received.

The Defence Minister and the Chief of Staff held a conversation on Tuesday evening in which a number of important decisions were taken. This conversation was not recorded in any form.

We believe that it is desirable to determine guidelines in this matter in order to prevent a situation in which important decisions are not documented.

was an investigating commission which stands by such results," he said.

Italian newspapers hailed the commission's finding as a courageous act, while the Italian Jewish community said the verdict reflected the principles on which Israel was founded.

In London, *The Times* wrote that "morally the case for an election is surely strong. Israel is a democracy, we are constantly reminded, and indeed its ability to produce a report of this calibre on so explosive a political issue is in itself an eloquent reminder. But, democracy means that it must be the people who decide by what sort of government they wish to be governed. The present government's policies have given the world a frightening image of Israel, which many of us would like to believe is a false one."

Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, one of the first in UK to call for an inquiry, told *The Jerusalem Post*: "For the past several months being a Jew has often meant experiencing much anguish and moral torment. Now, I sense a particularly intense pride in belonging to a people which has demonstrated a commitment to justice and moral values unique among contemporary nations or indeed in history."

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky praised the findings of the commission and called for exploratory talks on resolving the conflicts in the Middle East.

"Above all I would like to express my really deepest respect that there

Navon: We had to have the inquiry

President Yitzhak Navon on Friday praised the government for setting up the commission of inquiry into the Beirut massacre. "We were obliged to hold this inquiry," he said, "for ourselves, for our heritage, for our basic concepts of the sanctity of human life."

The blood in the refugee camps was not spilled by Jews, Navon said, but stressed that the inquiry was important for the nation's spiritual health.

The president called for an immediate halt to the use of verbal violence, condemning such phrases as "traitor," "PLO supporter" and "stabbing the nation in the back," when used to describe political opponents.

"We must remember that we are one people, with one common destiny, and if, God forbid, our existence should be in danger, we are all in the same boat," he said.

"Army officers may be criticized," Navon opined "but criticism does not erase their service, their dedication, their praiseworthy deeds. Rather, it deals with certain behaviour over two or three days. The army's strength has not been harmed, and there is no reason to fear that officers will not want to take upon themselves positions of command. The army can accept criticism and emerge stronger in the process," the president said.

Meanwhile, it was learned that in a segment edited out of the television interview, Navon mentioned the possibility of a "national unity government" involving both large parties. It may be unlikely, the president is reported to have said, but leaders of both camps should meet to discuss the idea.

He also called on coalition and opposition leaders to seek ways of improving the public image of politicians.

Hagai Eylon, diplomat

Hagai Eylon, minister councillor at the Israel Embassy in Holland died in The Hague following a stroke on February 8. He was 52. He was buried at Jerusalem's Har Hamenuhot cemetery on Friday.

Minister of Interior, Dr. Yosef Burg, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, and Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat, were among those who attended the funeral. Eylon, who was born in Holon, had a long and distinguished career in diplomatic service in Thailand, Australia and at the Foreign Ministry's African desk in Jerusalem. He was at the Embassy in The Hague for three years.

Eylon is survived by his widow Zippora, son Yuval and daughter Tamar. He was the son of Holon mayor Pinhas Eylon. (A.Z.)

THE WEATHER

| | Saturday's Min-Max | Sunday's Max |
|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Jerusalem | 6-17 | 17 |
| Nahariya | 4-22 | 22 |
| Safed | 4-13 | 14 |
| Haifa-Port | 14-20 | 20 |
| Tiberias | 8-22 | 22 |
| Nazareth | 10-19 | 19 |
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Representatives of the Israeli Arab population last week expressed satisfaction over the Kahan Commission's findings.

The head of the National Committee of Arab Local Councils, Ibrahim Nimer Hussein, urged the government to adopt all the panel's findings. The chairman of the Tira local council, Zewilah Mansour, said the findings did not surprise him since the Jewish people, who have suffered from persecution for many generations, could not stand idly by when innocent people were killed.

Muhammed Watad, Mapam MK, said he does not rule out the possibility that the findings will lead to the resignation of the government and to the formation of another government without elections.

Druse representatives stated their satisfaction at the commission's clear condemnation of Phalangist behaviour.

Only members of the Communist party, Rakah, remained indifferent to the news of the commission's findings, saying they do not believe these would lead to a radical change of government policy towards the PLO and the Palestinian cause.

Reactions in the Little Triangle area were similar to those in the north.

Local Arabs praise 'courage'

Walid Haj Yihye, former Shell MK, said in Taiba that he was particularly impressed by the reason, humanity and courage of the commission's findings and recommendations.

"All honour to the 400,000 Israelis who forced the government to form the commission," he said, referring to the demonstration, held after the Beirut massacre, to urge the holding of an inquiry.

In the territories, public figures doubted that the findings would be implemented in their entirety. Some said the commission had been set up to clear Israel's name in world opinion, but said the findings show that there is no cleansing of the government from at least some responsibility for the massacres.

Deposed Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa said last week that the families of refugees killed in the Beirut camps should be indemnified, just as Jews who survived the Holocaust were given reparations. Nevertheless, most of those interviewed expressed appreciation of Israel's legal system.

Lebanese leaders maintained a cautious silence on the outcome of the inquiry, while PLO chairman

Yasser Arafat criticized it for failing to lay the blame squarely on Prime Minister Menachem Begin as well as on Defence Minister Ariel Sharon.

In Egypt, senior editors of the state-guided press told the Associated Press that the report amounted to a call for the resignation of the entire Begin cabinet. *October* magazine's Anis Mansour called on Israel to "unseat Begin himself, the Khomeini of the Jewish people."

Israel was strongly praised throughout the U.S. last week for having the internal strength to release the Kahan commission report.

The whole process of the Israeli reaction to the Beirut massacre is a tribute to the vitality of democracy in Israel and to the country's moral character," wrote *The Washington Post* in a lead editorial.

"In few other places would public opinion have risen as instantly and furiously as it did over the slaughter of 400 Palestinian refugees though Israelis were not the perpetrators, though it could be confidently expected that the actual perpetrators, Lebanese, would not

be held accountable by their countrymen, though the prospect of Israelis challenging the Israeli government and army at a crisis time was bound to carry its dangers," it said.

"Where else would an initially resistant government, one that could have had few illusions about the results, have responded as quickly and forthrightly to the demand for an impartial inquiry?"

The *New York Times* took a similar line in its lead editorial. "How rare the nation that seeks salvation by revealing such shame," it said.

European leaders and press also gave considerable attention to the Kahan report.

The pro-government French daily *Le Matin* greeted the publication of the report as a triumph for democracy, but warned that it left a large degree of uneasiness.

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky praised the findings of the commission and called for exploratory talks on resolving the conflicts in the Middle East.

"Above all I would like to express my really deepest respect that there

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THE JERUSALEM POST INTERNATIONAL EDITION

Palestine Council expected to reject Reagan plan

The Palestine National Council, scheduled to meet Algiers this week, will reject the U.S. plan for peace in the Middle East and hold out for an independent Palestinian state, the council's president predicted in an interview.

Khaled al-Fahoum, head of the PNC, the PLO's "parliament-in-exile," said that in spite of reports to the contrary, there are no "major differences" between the various Palestinian groups within the PLO. The PNC meetings, is the first since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the terror organization's expulsion from Beirut. Preliminary meetings between groups have been held in Aden, Damascus and Tunis.

Fahoum said U.S. President Ronald Reagan's plan will be discussed but a "big majority" will reject it because it "doesn't speak about the Palestinians as a people, a nation."

Fahoum is a member of the group of independents within the PNC. This group, which constitutes nearly half of the 354-man body, has tended to back PLO chairman Yasser Arafat in recent years.

A resolution that condemns but does not explicitly reject the Reagan plan, would allow Jordan's King Hussein to continue his contacts with the U.S. towards the formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian commission to negotiate the future of Judea and Samaria.

Arafat has yet to state his opinion on the Reagan plan in public. In Cairo, Bethlehem Mayor Elias

Freij renewed his call on the PLO to accept Reagan's plan.

"My advice is that we accept the Reagan initiative and that we as Palestinians enter in to a dialogue with the American administration on its basis," he said, after seeing President Hosni Mubarak.

The Post's Knesset Correspondent writes:

A group of U.S. senators said in Jerusalem last week that they saw no reason why the negotiations on the future of the West Bank should not begin before the current negotiations between Israel and Lebanon are completed.

They did not agree with the administration's view that the Middle East peace process need be held up until Israel and Lebanon had worked out an agreement.

The four Republicans, headed by Senator William S. Cohen (Maine), were visiting Israel for three days as guests of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee. The others in the delegation were Senators Dan Quayle (Indiana), Pete Wilson (California) and John Heinz (Pennsylvania).

The senators said that the Reagan Plan is "not dead," and in a clear reference to Camp David, they warned that "inflexible agreements" are not adequate to meet present negotiating needs. They called on Israel to "show initiative and imagination" in order to bring Hussein into the talks.

The Reagan plan, they explained, was simply an "expansion" of Camp David.

Asylum sought in Israel

By YOEL DAR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Dozens of Palestinian families from South Lebanon have asked Israel to grant them asylum because they fear harassment by the Phalangists.

Some Palestinians have already crossed the border at Rosh Hanikra to visit their relatives in Arab villages. Officials said it is possible that they do not intend returning to the refugee camps in South Lebanon. Others have sent letters to the authorities, through their relatives, asking to be permitted to stay in Israel.

Hussein Assadi, the secretary of the Labour Party in Western Galilee, told The Jerusalem Post last week that some of those who crossed the border are his relatives.

Assadi said he witnessed the pressure on Palestinians in the coastal city of Sidon during a recent visit to Lebanon. He saw armed people roaming the city's streets, forcing the Palestinians from their houses in Christian and Moslem residential areas. They ordered the Palestinians to evacuate their houses and to move to the refugee camps, reported Assadi.

Dry Bones



'Harassment' order

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan last week confirmed that he issued written instructions for dealing with demonstrations in Judea and Samaria that included provisions for collective punishment, the punishment of parents, harassment and economic sanctions.

Eitan appeared as the final witness in the trial of a major and six other soldiers on charges of mistreating Arab detainees during unrest in the Hebron area last spring. The trial is taking place in the Central Command military court in Jaffa.

The defence argues that the accused were merely implementing orders.

Pressed about the use of collective punishments such as curfews or the closing of the bridges across the Jordan, Eitan said that these were employed for a limited period in order to try to trace suspects. But he agreed that innocent people suffered in the process.

Eitan agreed that the situation at the time in Judea and Samaria was tense and that there were situations where "every soldier becomes a general," and has to take decisions on his own.

Kudos for Levy

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



David Levy

THE KAHAN COMMISSION made a point of saying that Deputy Premier David Levy was the only minister aware of the possible results of inter-communal tensions in Lebanon. But it isn't always enough to be right, a maxim proved by the fact that Levy has been under heavy attack inside Herut for something approaching disloyalty. The other Herutnik whose loyalty is being questioned is Communications Minister Mordechai Zippori. Some Herutniks are faulting Zippori for testimony that undercut Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

By the way, Levy's biographer — Yehudi Aharonov columnist Arye Avneri — has two more books in the works, on Finance Minister Yoram Aridor and coalition executive chairman Avraham Shapira of Agudat Yisrael.

WHILE Prime Minister Menachem Begin let the country dangle in the wind about his reaction to the Kahan recommendations, Raphael Gil's latest Pori poll showed Begin far ahead of anyone in personal popularity. The only other Herutniks on the list were David Levy, and (surprisingly) Ezer Weizman.

Polls notwithstanding, Finance Minister Aridor seems firmly entrenched as Herut's Number Two, partly by virtue of his position at the top of the party's secretariat. It is not generally known that the finance minister spent long hours poring over the report with Begin last Monday night. The premier, we've learned, leaned on Aridor because of his political savvy and his legal training. Others closest with Begin on that important night included two members of the former underground Irgun Zvai Leumi "Fighting Family." Dr. Yohanan Bader and Economic Coordination Minister Ya'acov Meridor.

A MEMORIAL MEETING on the 15th anniversary of the death of Paula Ben-Gurion was held last week at the Jaffa community centre that bears her name. Most touching moment at the ceremony was when Ben-Gurion's grandson Dr. Yari Ben-Eliezer read letters from his grandfather, David Ben-Gurion, to Paula. Ben-Eliezer said that Paula "kept B-G's feet on the ground."

Another speaker was former B-G aide President Yitzhak Navon. GERMEN VISITORS. Political relations between Bonn and Jerusalem may be rocky, but scientific and technological cooperation continues at a steady pace. Hans-Hilger Haunschild, director-general of the Federal Ministry of Research and Technology, is currently here on a four-day visit. In addition to meetings with his Israeli counterpart, Tanhum Grizlin, Haunschild will visit the Weizmann Institute to hand over a West German gift of atomic research equipment.

COLLECTIVE REGRET. Meir Ya'ari, the 86-year-old founder of Hashomer Hatzair and the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, was disappointed last week at the downgrading of his home kibbutz, Merhavia, to associate membership in the federation because of new sleeping arrangements.

Ya'ari felt that the Kibbutz Artzi decision, taken when Merhavia allowed children to sleep in parents' homes was too harsh. "In my opinion, playing the stock market is much worse," said Ya'ari.

MEMBERS of the Israel-Norway Friendship Association turned out in force last week, to listen to a talk by Kaare Kristiansen, chairman of Norway's Christian Democratic Party. Kristiansen was lauded by association chairman Eliahu Izakson as "Israel's main champion in Norway."

FOR SALE. Iran-born tycoon Avraham Arad reportedly has put his Savoy mansion, a replica of a certain white house located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C., on the market. Seems that Arad and his new bride are planning to move to New York. The reported asking price is a whopping \$5 million.

SHA'AREI ZEDEK Hospital in Jerusalem has been celebrating the 99th birthday of its celebrated head nurse, Schwester Selma Meyer. She was head nurse when the hospital was founded in 1916, and since her retirement more than a decade ago has lived in a small apartment on the Shaarei Zedek premises.

Israel's ambassador in Paris, Meir

Israel could seek to try Barbie

A Justice Ministry spokesman said in Jerusalem last week that it was conceivable that Israel could seek the extradition of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie, pending the outcome of his trial in France. He said Israel would base such a request on a law it passed in the early 1950s claiming jurisdiction to prosecute Nazi war criminals irrespective of where their crimes were committed.

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Q&A

Contact the Student Authority, 15 Hillel St. Jerusalem, for More Information about Study Programs in Israel.

Winter 1983

Israeli Hospitals Recruit Interns

by Kenneth Bandler

One of the most practical programs organized by the Jewish Agency for persons considering making aliyah, is one specifically designed for students and professionals in the paramedical field. These include technicians, physiotherapists, nurses and lab workers.

The program was initiated two years ago by Aviva Mantzur, counselor for paramedical professions at the Jewish Agency in Tel Aviv. Persons who have participated in the program thus far have all elected to stay in Israel.

The paramedical internship program places professionals or students in Israeli city hospitals as volunteers for a period of six months. The volunteers are transferred to different departments within the hospitals every four to six weeks to experience work in various medical areas in Israel. Interns receive free room and board provided by the participating hospital.

"To be volunteers in Israel," Mantzur points out, "is an investment for them and for the country." The internship program provides the opportunity for paramedical staff to experience working and living in Israel like other professionals in their field and gives the hospitals a chance to evaluate prospective olim and employees. Several of the participants received permanent positions with their respective hospitals after completing the six-month internship.

Before the paramedical internship program was established, Sherut La'am (a volunteer program) provided the only option for foreigners who wanted to work as volunteers in hospitals in exchange for room and board. Sherut La'am, however, is limited to service in development towns. Today, Mantzur notes, "students, especially those from the United States and Canada, want to live in a city, to be where the action is, to be near universities and culture, and to meet young people."

Mantzur explains that the idea for the program actually was generated by the needs of one nurse who wanted to be in Tel Aviv rather than in Sefed, where Sherut La'am was prepared to arrange work. At the time, budget cuts in hospitals created a need for volunteers.

Originally a nurse herself, Mantzur recognized the opportunity to introduce her program and she quickly made arrangements with Rothschild Hospital in Haifa and Tel Hashomer Hospital near Tel Aviv. Yael, as Mantzur notes, "the problem is not getting more hospitals to join the program, but getting more students."

Most of the previous volunteers came from kibbutz ulpan programs. They already were in the country and looking for something to do after completing their Hebrew studies. A good knowledge of Hebrew is a basic requirement of the internship program. Students from Northeastern University in Boston have an arrangement where they can receive academic credit for their work in the hospitals. Mantzur plans to encourage other universities to set up similar arrangements.

Law — Recent graduates and law students with a basic knowledge of Hebrew are eligible for work placement within private law firms and the Ministry of Justice in Israel through Sherut La'am. Candidates are reminded that positions are competitive and placement may take months.

Development Towns — Through Sherut La'am, persons may be placed as volunteers in development towns throughout Israel. Work possibilities are endless but primarily exist in areas of social work, teaching and recreation. Interested applicants can turn to their local aliyah shaliach or Avinoam Caspi, INA Straus, AZIF, 515 Park Ave., NY, NY 10022 (212) 751-6070.

Kibbutz Volunteers — Kibbutzim in Israel give preference to volunteers coming from abroad who can make a minimum one month commitment. Why don't you experience this community lifestyle? Work placement varies from agricultural field work, childcare, factory and kitchen. Summer volunteers are advised to apply early. For more information, contact your local aliyah shaliach.

Kibbutz Ulpan — Interested in learning Hebrew and working on kibbutz? Hundreds of people have been introduced to Israel through this 5½ month work/study program. Apply through your local aliyah shaliach.

Danny Pins may be reached at the Israel Student Center, 17 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, 02116. Tel: (617) 247-4006.

Communicated by the Student Authority — Jewish Agency Aliyah Department — Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

Winter 1983

Israel Student Center Opens

The Israel Aliyah Center announces the opening of the Israel Student Center under the direction of Shalich Daniel Pins. The Student Center, located in Boston, serves as a national information center for all student programs in Israel, especially for long-term studies and aliyah. The opening is part of a new campaign initiated by Moshe Shechter, director of the Israel Aliyah Center of North America, to reach out to the 400,000 Jewish students currently enrolled in American colleges and universities.

As director of the Israel Student Center, Pins will provide information and advice to students interested in working, living, and studying in Israel. Scholarships and accredited short-term programs are available, as well as six-month cooperative education internships

offered through Northeastern University.

UCYA: A Clearinghouse for Student Programs

The Center for Ulpanim Counseling for Young Adults (UCYA), 12 Kaplan Street, Tel Aviv, Israel, 03-258-311, can arrange work placements for persons on tourist visas and B-1 work permits. In addition, their staff can assist students and young adults find internships within their profession and volunteer work.

Interested in the following work-study programs below? Contact Jonathan Davis or Aviva Mantzur at the UCYA in Tel Aviv or Danny Pins, shaliach of the Israel Student Center, 17 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, 02116. Tel: (617) 247-4006.

Paramedical Professionals — Nursing students, X-ray technicians, physical therapists and others in health-related fields are welcome to apply for six-month internships at hospitals throughout Israel (see related article, page one).

Industrial — Internships are available to students in the field of chemical, industrial, mechanical and electrical engineering and computer studies. Interns are placed in jobs at major Israeli industries for six months. Dormitory style housing provided.

Hotel Restaurant — Six-month internships are available to students studying business or hotel/restaurant management. Dormitory style housing is provided and sometimes meals. UCYA can arrange to transfer college credit to universities abroad.

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New Additional Funds Available For Students Studying in Israel

by Jo Ann Arnowitz

"No student who wants to come and study in Israel should be denied the opportunity because of financial constraints," says Arnon Mantver, Head of the Student Authority. While this attitude is not a new one in Mantver's head, it is the philosophy of a new program being formulated by the Student Authority in conjunction with the Jewish Agency and Ministry of Immigrant Absorption.

Up until now, financial assistance through the Student Authority and Jewish Agency was reserved only for olim or temporary residents. Those on student and tourist visas who came for one year programs could apply to the University offices abroad for financial aid, but in many cases the aid was not sufficient.

Financial assistance for students provided by "Friends" organizations of the various universities is made available from donations raised specifically for that purpose. A standard means test is used to determine the amount of aid given to each student. Israel Roi, Vice-Provost of the School for Overseas Students at Hebrew University says the American Friends of the Hebrew University presently offer students up to \$2,000 financial assistance for each year of study. There is no limit to the number of students who can receive aid each year.

Michael Jankelowitz, Director of Student Affairs of the American Zionist Youth Federation feels "a person who needs financial aid will usually get it, but many need more than the University Friends are able to offer, especially with the difficult economic conditions in the States. Our idea is to give money to students whom without that money would not be able to come to study in Israel."

"We don't want to just increase the amount of aid given per student," adds Mantver, "but increase the amount of students who are able to come as a result of this aid."

While this program will be experimental for the next few years, the Student Authority presently estimates that within the next two years, 200 more students will be able to come on one year programs as a result of this new supplementary funding.

Mantver just returned from a month-long trip to the States where he launched ideas for this program to 15-20 shlichim all over the

country, as well as to students and Jewish communities in Los Angeles, Houston and San Francisco. He was greeted with favorable reactions and strong support as well as constructive suggestions for ways to implement the program.

The Student Authority does not feel it necessary at this time to open new channels for students to apply for more financial aid. "The existing channels are really very good," says Mantver, "and we do not want to confuse students. We will keep the system as it is, with students applying for aid through the universities who already have committees for determining how much aid a student receives. We plan to add to the amount of aid given when it is apparent that even the university's maximum will not be enough."

The existing system will be strengthened by enlisting the help of 15-20 shlichim throughout the States who will inform students about study programs in Israel and refer them to the right sources and explain how and where to apply for financial aid. Shlichim will be more involved with the information and registration processes, going to universities to promote programs and answering students' questions.

One major question sure to arise is "How much does it actually cost to study for one year in Israel?" The estimated costs are as follows:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Summer Ulpan, room and board | \$350 |
| University dorms at \$35/month | 350 |
| 1 year tuition | 1,800 |
| Living expenses, food and entertainment at \$200/month | 2,400 |
| Round trip airfare New York-Israel-New York | 1,000 |
| | \$5,900 |

This new program of supplementary financial aid will affect students applying to universities in Israel for the 1983/84 year. Mantver emphasizes that it will begin in experimental stages, leaving room for changes where necessary.

To receive more information about existing programs, contact your local shaliach, the University Student Department or the appropriate organization from the following list of "Friends" organizations:

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The Language Laboratory at Hebrew University helps overseas students master the Hebrew language.

Communicated by the Student Authority — Jewish Agency Aliyah Department — Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

Winter 1983

Israel Student Center Opens

The Israel Aliyah Center announces the opening of the Israel Student Center under the direction of Shalich Daniel Pins. The Student Center, located in Boston, serves as a national information center for all student programs in Israel, especially for long-term studies and aliyah. The opening is part of a new campaign initiated by Moshe Shechter, director of the Israel Aliyah Center of North America, to reach out to the 400,000 Jewish students currently enrolled in American colleges and universities.

As director of the Israel Student Center, Pins will provide information and advice to students interested in working, living, and studying in Israel. Scholarships and accredited short-term programs are available, as well as six-month cooperative education internships

offered through Northeastern University.



Haitt Students discover that field trips throughout Israel are the highlight of their studies. photo credit: Bruce Rosenbaum, Shimon Mizgalski

Brandeis-Hiatt's New Attraction: Spring Term in Jerusalem

by Melanie Rosenberg

Jerusalem is many things to many people.

To a select group of 30 university students from across the U.S. Jerusalem will become their learning laboratory in the spring of 1984. In a newly designed program, Jerusalem will captivate the focus of all aspects of their courses in archaeology, politics, sociology and Bible.

The Brandeis University - Jacob Hiatt Institute in Israel has been offering a highly successful fall semester of study in Israel to students from more than 130 colleges and universities since 1961. Uniquely structured, this program presents Israeli studies through integrated academic and extra-curricular courses. But the introduction of the special Jerusalem Spring Term for 1984 marks an additional perspective for the Hiatt Institute.

In introducing the Jerusalem Semester we're taking advantage of our setting, explained Director Branch Levy who sits at the Institute's campus in the heart of the city. We have a unique opportunity to combine classroom and on-site studies in an eclectic curriculum. In the Bible, all history courses, for example, will complement the studies with trips to archaeological landmarks of the era. Contemporary issues will be examined from social and political developments in the city. Jerusalem is a social laboratory for Jews, Arabs, Christians and Muslims. And Jerusalem is a focus for international politics in the U.S. In every course, this emphasis will be on direct contact with the people and places being studied.

The Fall Semester of 1983 will also offer a program of major interest to American university students, particularly those majoring in political science, social sciences and history. Following an intensive Hebrew language course beginning in July, students elect four small seminar-like courses taught in English by prominent Israeli professors. The courses run an interdisciplinary study of Jerusalem's role in biblical, rabbinic and modern history, to the social and governmental structure of Israel.

To complement the academic material, the Hiatt Institute's summer Hebrew courses include a 10-day intensive study seminar. Meetings are arranged with leading government leaders and with Arab and Druze leaders. Hiatt students are encouraged to become actively involved in Israeli society via a range of independent study and social internship projects.

Applications and further information about this exciting program may be obtained by writing to the Jacob Hiatt Institute, POB 4052, 6 Maneh Street, Jerusalem, tel: 02-633-614; or in the U.S. at the Office of International Programs, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts 02254, tel: (617) 847-2422. Application deadlines: Fall Semester, March 15, 1983; Spring Semester, November 1, 1983.

Melanie Rosenberg teaches English and Hebrew in Jerusalem. She is a former participant of the one year program for Jewish and Zionist leaders, Michlalah L'Madrachim M'Yotzei L'Aretz.

Communicated by the Student Authority - Jewish Agency Aliyah Department - Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

Mixture of Jewish Studies And Professional Degrees At Bar-Ilan Strictly Kosher

by Seth Sprecher

Where can you find a more authentic and conducive atmosphere for a Jewish Studies program than a religiously-oriented university in Israel? Aside from being a modern, conveniently located campus offering B.A. to Ph.D. degrees in a wide selection of areas, Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan is also one of the few schools in the world where religious study and observance is encouraged as much as the secular curricula and activities.

Situated just a few minutes from downtown Tel Aviv, Bar-Ilan's 70-acre campus serves a student body of 10,000 and a faculty of 2,000. Although only 22 years old, Bar-Ilan's rapid growth is an institute of higher education evidenced by its high academic rating and technologically advanced research and learning facilities.

The heart of this complex educational organism is the Faculty of Jewish Studies. While, as with other Jewish Studies programs, there are undergraduates and graduates aspiring for degrees within the Faculty itself, a certain number of courses from its basic Jewish studies curriculum is mandatory for everyone enrolled at the University. The choice of courses, vast and colorful, is spread out among the four main headings of Bible, Talmud, Jewish Philosophy, and Jewish History. In this way, the University insures that all of its students involve themselves in, and gain a fundamental knowledge of, a variety of Jewish topics. Though 90 percent of the students and a majority of the staff are religious, Bar-Ilan actively encourages those with little or no Jewish background to come and enrich their understanding and experience of Judaism while continuing to study for their academic degrees.

Allen Ehrenbaum of Pittsburgh agreed: "There was a good mixture of planned activities and enough free time to explore the city. We were a small group and we could give input into the direction of our studies with total support from the instructors and staff."

Norma Sanchez, a native of Puerto Rico and a Brandeis student, recommended the program for different reasons: "As a non-Jew, I found the Hiatt Program an excellent means to learn about Jews and Jewish culture," she smiled. "No classroom learning in the U.S. could have provided me with the real picture that I've now seen and experienced."

The Hiatt Institute of Brandeis University fall or spring semester is open to all students who have satisfactorily completed at least four semesters in an accredited college or university. Applicants should have maintained a B average and must have taken at least one course in the social sciences. Prior knowledge of Hebrew is not necessary.

The students are either housed in apartments rented near the Institute or with Israeli families living in the vicinity. All meals are provided by the Institute. Cost per semester is \$3,950 and financial aid is available from Brandeis University. The courses carry full academic credit from Brandeis.

by Eva Basnizi

Michlalah, the one year overseas study program at the Jerusalem College for Women (Michlalah) provides young religious women from abroad with an opportunity to study at an Israeli college. Founded in 1968 by Rabbi Yehuda Copperman, the Jerusalem College for Women was mainly set up as a teacher's training school. Because of its popularity and growing number of applicants, the Michlalah limits its foreign student body to 20 percent. Courses during the one year program cover a variety of subjects, many from the regular curriculum, such as education, geography, Jewish history,

summer ulpan and options for special preparatory courses in English.

Since Bar-Ilan's official policies are intended to constantly reinforce one's Jewishness in thought and behavior, its Faculty of Jewish Studies is especially attractive to those who have studied in a yeshiva and are already firmly rooted in the basic laws and beliefs of Judaism. Some of the major departments of the Faculty in which degrees are available are: the Department of Biblical Studies, the Department of Talmud, the Department of Hebrew and Semitic Languages and the Department of Hebrew Literature.

"It's challenging, but extremely rewarding," says Menasheh Ellyashiv, a Talmudic Studies graduate from Baltimore, of the Faculty's degree programs. "The instruction is top. Many of the professors have had scientific schooling as well as yeshiva training, so they can give the students an appreciation of texts, data, and historical events from both a technical and scholarly viewpoint."

"That's all very nice," you say, "but I want to continue with my yeshiva studies, which is impractical if I attend university." Read on, the vessels of learning have still not been emptied. In addition to the official University departments listed in the syllabus, Bar-Ilan supports an Institute for Advanced Torah Study. Men and women who have an extensive background in religious study and wish to extend and deepen their background while continuing with their education in the arts or sciences are accommodated within the framework of the Institute. In the men's division, yeshiva learning is conducted every morning from 8:00 to 1:00 according to the traditional system of chevrutot, sederim and shiurim.



Bar-Ilan's one year program in Advanced Torah Studies for Men is one of the University's many special features within the Jewish Studies Program. Photo Courtesy: Bar-Ilan University

Michlalah: Religious Studies for Women

law, philosophy and languages. After a student successfully completes the year, she may wish to enroll in the Michlalah's regular three or four year program. In addition to receiving college credits, foreign students are awarded special certificates by the Ministry of Education which enables them to teach in day schools in their respective countries.

The College will consider applications from students who have completed 12 years of education and are in possession of a diploma attesting to the successful termination of their high school studies, and in some cases 11 years of

while the women's academy holds classes and lectures three mornings a week in the areas of Written and Oral Law, Halacha and Jewish Thought. The participants attend regular university courses in the afternoon. Due to their previous experience and their demanding workload, enrollees of both the yeshiva and the women's academy are exempt from the basic Jewish studies and general studies courses required of other students. Though there is a predominance of religious school graduates in the Institute, interested men and women of secular education and background are also given the opportunity to join the respective programs.

With its Faculty of Jewish Studies and Institute for Advanced Torah Study providing the basic melody, Bar-Ilan is skillfully creating harmony between the traditionally discordant voices of devout faith and intellectual enlightenment. Whether full-term students or on the one-year program, staunchly religious or just curious about their heritage, specializing in Jewish Studies or simply maintaining a high level of knowledge in this field while pursuing a different scientific or scholarly course of study, Bar-Ilan students are diligently quarrying the materials for the bridge linking Torah and academia.

For more information on the Faculty of Jewish Studies or the Institute for Advanced Torah Study, contact the Admissions Department of the Bar-Ilan offices in New York (527 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, 10022).

Seth Sprecher currently is a freelance writer living in Jerusalem. Before making aliyah in 1979, Seth studied at Or Sameach Yeshiva and is a graduate of Kibbutz Ulan.

The One Year Program: A Scholastic Bonanza at a Bargain Price

by Barbara Soler

It sounds too good to be true. A year of university study with some of the top professors in the world, a trip to an exotic foreign country, learning a new language, meeting students from all over the world, exploring your past — all for half the price of what a year at a private university in the United States would cost. That is exactly what you get if you take part in the One Year University Program in Israel.

What began as a modest program to accommodate American and Canadian students who wanted to spend a year in the then six-year old Israel (the host Hebrew University

was already 37!) has now developed into a well-organized framework in which overseas students can choose from dozens of courses and special activities at five major Israeli universities.

Students on the One Year Program generally arrive in the summer and attend an intensive Hebrew language course, ulpan, run by the university they have chosen. The student registers for regular classes, or for special courses for non-Israelis, or both, depending on his interests and Hebrew level. A particularly rich selection of courses in Judaic Studies, the Middle East and

archaeology is available. This year, courses include Bible study with world-renowned authority Nechama Leibowitz, poetry with poet Yehudah Amichai, and Jewish philosophy with Professor Emil Fackenheim. But if he wishes to stick to physics, math or English Literature he will also find many interesting courses available.

Students on the One Year Program usually find housing in the low-cost student dormitories or share rented apartments in the cities. They take university arranged day trips, hikes and overnight tours and participate in numerous semin-

The One Year Program: A Personal Account

by Neal Futerfas

In 1977 I surprised my friends and came to Israel for my sophomore year. As a young undergraduate student leaving the safe haven of home and academic citadel for the unknown 6,000 miles away, I was unsure of what the future held.

In 1981 I returned to Israel to continue where I left off. Now as a graduate student in Israel, I look back and can say that my first year in Israel was the greatest year of my life.

I came on the One Year Program to Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Why did I do the program?

There are many reasons — a Jewish/Zionist impulse being only one. Doing the One Year Program in Israel has numerous advantages over studying at other overseas universities or at your home school. A few of which I would like to list here:

FINANCIAL — To my amazement and general delight I discovered that a year's study in Israel generally costs much less than a year's study at almost any American university (especially private schools). This is due to the low cost of housing and tuition in Israel and the generous aid which is available to overseas students through the American and Canadian Friends of the Organization. Without scrimping on anything one can enjoy a full year of study and travel and not worry about how much more mom and dad are laying out for the venture.

LANGUAGE — For anyone who has any interest in pursuing a degree, career or hobby which requires Bible study, Hebrew press or the raucousness of modern Israeli political discourse, the One Year Program is a great place to start. The university's summer ulpan are famous for providing an intensive introduction in both written and spoken Hebrew. Hebrew study continues during the academic year.

TRAVEL — Without exaggeration, Israel is probably close to being the ideal base for travel in Europe and parts of the Middle East. The One Year Program is designed to facilitate domestic Israeli and foreign travel since it offers long breaks during the summer and school year, as well as provides the opportunity to stop over in Europe. I went to Turkey my first summer in Israel and Denmark, Norway and Sweden on my return trip to the U.S. During the school year I used my long breaks to tour Israel. With the opening to Egypt, students can take a 10 hour bus ride and get a window to the Arab world.

CREDITS — Another very practical aspect of the One Year Program study is that credits are transferable to your home school. In my case I didn't even return to the school at which I started, and the Florida

university which I ended up at, accepted all the courses I had taken as equal to a year's work. Usually all that is necessary is to coordinate your classes at the Israeli university with the university you are attending at home. This should be done before you arrive to Israel.

Finally, there is a special connection between the Jewish People and the State of Israel. While other destinations may have comparable travel and financial pluses, Israel is the nation of the Jewish People.

The One Year Program provides a great framework for students to explore their history and this special relationship and perhaps, as I have discovered, one's own place in Israel. Now that we've looked at a few advantages of the One Year Program, how does it all work in practice? Here, I'd like to relate my own story.

First of all, I've always had a great interest in Israel. I remember the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War as being fairly deep emotional experiences for me, cementing the idea in my young mind that for some reason, Israel was an important place. In high school I was a member of a Jewish youth organization which broadened my contacts with other Jewish youth and developed my interest in Israel.

My first year of college was disappointing since I met few young Jews concerned with problems facing the Jewish Community. When I saw that the college campus didn't meet my Jewish/Zionist needs, and when I witnessed anti-Semitism on campus, I decided to put my thoughts into action and come to Israel on the One Year Program.

From my first glimpse of Israel's shoreline, to breathing fresh Jerusalem air, to stuffing my mind with everything from modern political history of the Middle East to Bar Kochba's struggle, I experienced a great spiritual high.

All the advantages I listed earlier quickly came to light. I traveled

extensively, made friends, didn't spend a fortune, discovered my past and at the end when I returned to the U.S. I brought with me a full year of college credit and another language. Perhaps the greatest aspect of the One Year Program is the tremendous amount of freedom and variety it allows. Besides courses which you must take as part of an academic program, a whole world of Middle Eastern and Jewish Studies literally await you at the university of your choice in Israel.

Sometimes the pure irony, if that is the right word, of things suddenly strikes you, as when a buddy says to you on a Friday night, "Why don't we pop down to the Western Wall?" At times like these you stop, think, and realize that you haven't taken just a physical trip 6,000 miles from home, but a trip in time as well, back to a past when "popping down to the Wall" was the sole reason for a Jew's existence.

Needless to say, these kinds of emotions are difficult to discard and I carried them with me when I returned to the States. I worked on my campus actively promoting Israel, but with a broader perspective. Having been in Israel, I know that it has good points and bad points. I also know that Israel is a country which deserves to be, deserves to be defended and needs our help.

After finishing school, I began to work, but was never able to get Israel out of my mind and so I found myself once again applying to the Hebrew University. My initial experience in Israel has come full circle, with my return four years later as a Master's student and potential oleh.

After finishing school, I began to work, but was never able to get Israel out of my mind and so I found myself once again applying to the Hebrew University. My initial experience in Israel has come full circle, with my return four years later as a Master's student and potential oleh.

Neal Futerfas is working towards his Masters degree in Middle Eastern Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he edits the English section of the Student Union newspaper. His articles have appeared in several Israeli publications.



Neal Futerfas returns to Hebrew University to work on his Masters degree in Middle Eastern Studies. photo courtesy: Hebrew University

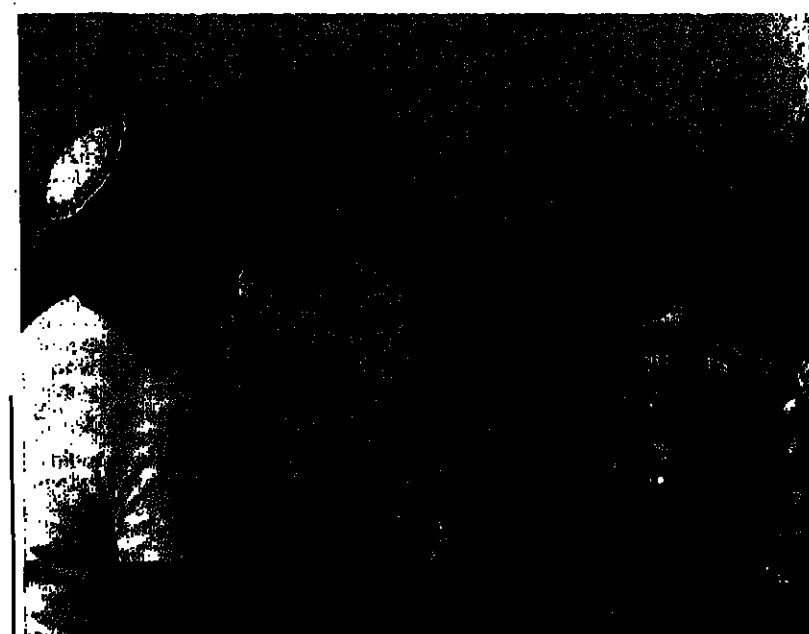


photo courtesy: Hebrew University

ars on Israel, such as workshops on development towns, the Israel Defense Forces and the Israel-Diaspora relationship.

The Hebrew University, the pioneer in the One Year Program, has the most extensive range of English-language courses and the largest number of participants. More than 600 students have come from campuses all over the U.S. and Canada for the One Year Program this year. A student must have completed at least one year of university with a B average to be accepted. Graduate students may take advanced courses. Classes officially begin in late October. The intensive program is coordinated by the Rothberg School for Overseas Students, which provides both academic advice and counseling.

Tel Aviv University offers one-year and one-semester programs (in spring and fall) to all undergraduates as well as mid-year high school graduates. A broad range of classes is offered in English, with an emphasis on courses in modern and ancient Israel, Middle East Affairs and Judaism. There are also courses in mass media, labor relations, archaeology, psychology and business administration. The One Year Program includes a community involvement plan which brings students right into the homes of Tel Aviv's poor neighborhoods. They become "adopted siblings" in families in which they can trade their scholastic input and worldliness for the warmth of the family's hospitality. This "big-brother" program functions within the framework of a guided credit course.

One Year students at Tel Aviv University can opt to do an internship at the University's Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies in which they conduct research on current problems in the Middle East or choose a course called "The Kibbutz as a way of life" which includes theoretical studies and a stay on a kibbutz. Special feature: seminar series run in conjunction with the Beth Hatefutsot Museum of the Jewish Diaspora which examines Jewish roots and history through the use of audiovisual aids, films, and displays. There is also the opportunity to arrange an independent study program under the guidance of a University tutorial sponsor.

Ben Gurion University in Beer Sheva will be accepting its first one-year program students for the 1983-4 academic year. Beer Sheva is the desert metropolis of Israel and three unique programs have been fashioned there for students who have an enthusiasm for the arid, beauty and wilderness of the region: Desert Ecology, including studies in biology, geology and hydrology, a field in which Israel is the world leader; Behavior Sciences, concentration on kibbutzim, development towns and beduin of the desert area; Archaeology-Judaica study, with field work in Negov archaeological sites.

Bar-Ilan University, in Ramat Gan near Tel Aviv, is the only university in Israel under religious auspices, which means most students are observant Jews. Courses are taught from a traditional point of view, and the Sabbath and holidays are strictly observed on campus. Bar-Ilan provides non-Israelis with classes in English in a general studies program with special emphasis on Jewish studies. Students with a strong Hebrew background can attend the regular year although sophomores and juniors also take part in the program. In addition to field trips and seminars, opportunities are provided for doing volunteer work in schools, hospitals and with the elderly.

University of Haifa. Students who want to spend a year or one semester in Israel's scenic port city of Haifa can take advantage of this overseas program with its modern campus on a hilltop above the city. The program begins with a summer ulpan on kibbutz. The University then offers a variety of study options, including kibbutz work, archaeological expeditions, scientific and study tours of Israel and a full course of general studies in English. Students may enroll for winter or spring semesters or both. Students who want to take regular University courses in Hebrew can request tutorial assistance through the program.

In almost all the different university programs, credits are transferable to schools back in the United States and Canada. Nevertheless it is advisable for students to check out their plans with home universities before arriving in Israel. So, whether you are looking for a fascinating scholastic experience, a change of scene, a chance to spruce up your curriculum vitae, or whether you have a thirst for adventure, want to save a lot of money, or would simply like to find out what Israel is really like — the One Year Program is an option well-worth investigating. For further information contact the "Friends" organization of the university you are interested in attending. See page 7 for local addresses.

Barbara Soler participated in the One Year Program at Hebrew University before making aliyah in 1971. She currently lives and freelance writes in Jerusalem. Her articles have appeared in several Israeli publications.

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Deciding to study in Israel is a major decision in itself, but deciding what and where, considering the country offers over 200 different degree and diploma/certificate programs at more than 16 institutions of higher learning, is nothing less than downright hard work!

"HIGHER EDUCATION IN ISRAEL" was written to help you put into perspective the various study programs offered in order to determine which one is best for you. It's a commonsense highly informative guide to all aspects of post-secondary education in Israel, including listings of Israeli institutions of higher learning and what each can offer you, plus facts on the Student Authority, visas/status, possibilities of transferring credits from Israel to your university abroad, and tuition grants/subsidies. It all adds up to a very practical way to plan out what will undoubtedly be one of the most exciting and enriching experiences of your life.

Available at most Student Authority offices and various universities in Israel, as well as from Aliyah Centers abroad. If ordered by mail there is a charge of US \$1.50 (or equivalent in Israel currency) for persons living in Israel and US \$4.00 if ordered from abroad, to cover postage and handling costs.

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ophir paz

THE KAHAN REPORT/COMMENTARY

IT WOULD BE a grave error to treat the Kahan Commission's findings as pertaining only to the events surrounding the Sabra and Shatilla massacres.

The 108 pages of the report released to the public reveals monumental incompetence within the Israeli defence establishment. The head of military intelligence was ignored on the issue of cooperation between the IDF and the Phalange for four years and thus felt no need to express his opinions on crucial issues. Messages were not passed on: Orders were unclear and ambiguous. There was no communication between the intelligence and operations branches on important matters. Senior commanders conformed to concepts they knew to be popular with their superiors.

Senior officers interviewed last week said that the commission's findings cast blame not only on the individuals mentioned, but unfairly on the army as a whole. They were convinced that the commission was not even-handed in its treatment of the IDF.

If the security of the country is the paramount consideration of those who serve in the IDF, one is hard put to understand why they feel that the army has been unfairly treated. Do they want an IDF where the chief of military intelligence is ignored for years on end on so crucial an issue as cooperation with the Phalange; and where he chooses not to express his opinions because he knows beforehand that they will be disregarded?

There is no need to labour the point that the removal of senior officers under a cloud of shame by public commissions of inquiry twice in a decade is traumatic for the IDF. The question is whether their removal, and the public exposure of shortcomings within the defence establishment, weakens or strengthens the IDF.

The Kahan Commission, with persuasive logic, found both the defence minister and the chief of staff guilty of "a breach of duty and dereliction of duty." The chief of military intelligence was found guilty of not doing his duty. Aluf Amir Drori was commended for his actions following his discovery Fri-

day, September 17, that massacres were taking place, but berated for doing absolutely nothing when the chief of staff failed completely to act upon what Drori knew to be a critical matter.

The report shows that the head of the Mossad security service (whose identity is never disclosed while he is serving in the past) was unaware of the intention to send the Phalange into the camps, despite the fact that he had received reports from his own representative at meetings at which the decision was taken.

If the general picture of the lack of communication, the poor decision-making process, the timidity even senior officers felt in the presence of their superiors, is a true one — and one must assume that it is — then what the commission has done must be seen as a national service.

PERHAPS one of the most important chapters in the entire report is the section entitled "The Functioning of the Establishment." It proves beyond any doubt that almost none of those responsible for this country's security understood one another or what it was that Israel wanted to achieve. Conversations between key decision-makers went unrecorded and were totally misunderstood by the participants. Orders were ambiguous where they needed to be absolutely clear. Bits of information were passed from mouth to selected ear.

There is much to be learned from the side issues brought up in the report. It shows that the Mossad's assessments on cooperation with the Phalange contradicted those of IDF military intelligence, and how the Mossad was consistently wrong in its evaluation of events. It shows clearly that the defence establishment was slave to a conception that could not be changed, and that often facts were moulded to fit that conception, rather than the other way round — just as was the case prior to the Yom Kippur War, when Israel was taken by surprise

Eitan: IDF will learn lessons of commission's findings

Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan issued a special order of the day in response to the cabinet vote adopting the Kahan Commission's findings.

"The military echelon will carry out the decisions of the government, as is customary in a functioning democracy. The Israel Defence Forces will learn the lessons of the inquiry commission's findings," said Eitan.

The chief of staff praised the IDF for its performance in the Lebanon war, particularly the "moral stature of the fighters." The IDF "will prove that it has the ability to withstand criticism and to draw painful conclusions which follow from it."

Referring to the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camp massacres by Lebanese Phalangists last September as "the murder of innocents" and "the most serious of

crimes" in light of Jewish teaching, Eitan noted that "our moral values are what aroused in us a feeling of responsibility and the decision not to ignore the massacre that occurred in our midst."

Eitan said the inquiry commission was appointed "on the basis of the fundamental values of democracy in Israel" and that its conclusions were "unequivocal."

Military chiefs put their views to the cabinet

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

Chief of Military Intelligence Aluf Yehoshua Saguy and Chief Infantry and Paratroop Officer Tat-Aluf Amos Yaron last week told the cabinet that the Kahan Commission's recommendations pertaining to them will have a negative effect on the Israel Defence Forces.

Saguy said that it is unjust and impossible to judge the performance of the military intelligence (MI) on the basis of what happened at the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps alone. MI, he said, was consistently correct in its assessment of cooperation between Israel and the Phalange, and certainly during the

four years he has headed the branch.

He recalled the work done by MI regarding the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, in the war against terror and specifically during Operation Peace for Galilee.

Yaron said he was educated to accept his superiors' recommendations, but the dismissal and suspension of senior officers will have a negative effect on the IDF as a whole. The younger generation of military leadership, he said, will hesitate to assume responsibility, preferring to shift difficult decision-making to others.

He will accept whatever the

government decides, he said, without personal bitterness.

The two officers appeared at the cabinet session following a request by Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan.

A day earlier Eitan told the government of the feeling of the general staff, which had met earlier, that the officers should be given a chance to speak their minds. Eitan also told the cabinet that the general staff felt that there was a lack of proportion between the commission's findings as to the actions of the officers concerned in the report and its recommendations pertaining to them.

The military reality

By HIRSH GOODMAN

on two fronts. It shows how the prime minister, deprived of independent military advice and assessment with the removal of his military secretary over a year ago, was almost ignored as a serious factor in the exposition of military policy during crucial events which had a direct bearing on Israel's international relations.

THE COMMISSION'S findings must be considered not only fully justified, but also reflective of a reality with which Israel cannot afford to live.

It is in this spirit that the IDF, both at the professional and at citizen level, must accept the findings. True, it is demoralizing to have two chiefs of staff forced to end their careers within a decade. (David Elazar left his post as Chief of Staff after the 1973 war). One can also understand, and sympathize with, the legitimate feeling in the intelligence community that it has become impossible to assume responsibility for the assessment of national intelligence and complete one's term of duty honourably.

But what alternative is there? In the short term, the commission's findings will have a serious effect on the IDF, though this will not be felt at the operational level. Each of the officers declared unfit to continue to hold his position has an immediate replacement, for that is the way the IDF functions. One cannot make light of a defence minister, a chief of staff, the head of military intelligence and the chief infantry officer, all being dismissed simultaneously, but the system will continue to function.

What is important is the attitude of those who remain, and their willingness to continue to serve. If they feel that the IDF has been made a scapegoat; if they believe that they cannot do their duty and at the same time comply with the unyielding standards of the institutions

of a democratic and principled society; then the negative effect on the country's security will be more than transitory.

The IDF was mauled by the Agranat Commission for the shortcomings of the Yom Kippur War, and emerged stronger for it.

Last week it was mauled again and there is no telling what the immediate and long-range results will be. But if the defence establishment has the national interest at heart, they will overcome any possible feeling of injustice to individuals whom they respect and admire, and accept the report as the meticulous survey of military malfunction that it is, and use it as the foundation for another fresh start.

THE FINDINGS of the Kahan Commission and the legitimacy of its recommendations will be debated for years to come, and there will always be those who will feel that they, or those they support, were wronged. Chief of Staff Rafael

Eitan has been, by all accounts, an exceptional leader, a man the rank and file of the army respect deeply. Tat-Aluf Amos Yaron is known to have bravely opposed Ariel Sharon's demand that the IDF enter West Beirut in mid-June. He has a reputation as an officer whose men's lives are important to him. Aluf Yehoshua Saguy has been controversial as head of military intelligence; but his chief crime, it seems, was not standing up for his convictions. Defence Minister Ariel Sharon is a complex personality whose real character and actions remain clouded despite the commission's relentless search for the truth.

Each of these men has served the nation selflessly. They were rewarded with power and position and respect. But that power and respect were not unconditional, and past dedication cannot preclude present condemnation.

The security of Israel is too important for such sentiment. And if anyone should be aware of that, it is those officers who will now have to take over. They, more than anyone, know that there is no alternative.

The writer is Defence Correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

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DEFENCE MINISTER Ariel Sharon's reliance on misinformation, revealed in the Kahan Report, helped cause the collapse of his far-reaching plans for Lebanon, and not only the calamitous bungle in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps.

Sharon's policy towards Lebanon was already returning to square one before the Kahan Report showed in the one specific case of the camps how the minister backed the wrong horse, on the advice of the Mossad, the non-military security service. The report showed how the domineering minister ignored the real experts for years: the IDF intelligence corps.

Now with Sharon's grandiose plans for Lebanon all awry, the question still remains, what persuaded him in the first place that it was worth the risk and the cost?

And once Sharon was so persuaded, how did he convince Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir to let him try it out?

Sharon, like the late Defence Minister Moshe Dayan 10 years earlier, imposed a package hypothesis on an uncritical prime minister.

Begin was ready to believe that Sharon could crown the late Bashir Jemayel as Lebanon's next President, and that 400,000 Maronites, whom he did not all control, could (and wished to) defy the remaining 75 per cent of the Lebanese population, not to speak of Syria, the PLO and the Arab world.

The late Prime Minister Golda Meir was ready to believe Dayan's intuitive assurances that the Syrian and Egyptian armies neither dared nor were prepared to launch a full-scale invasion.

In 1973, the chief of military intelligence, Aluf Eli Zeira, went along with Dayan's hypothesis that the six-year-old military equilibrium might last indefinitely. His men worked under the impress of that hypothesis. They evaluated some of the vital information received in the shadow of that hypothesis, underweighting the significance of certain contrary facts until it was too late.

In 1982, Sharon got Begin to accept his hypothesis because the prime minister knows little of the Arab world apart from Egypt. The Arab mind was always a mystery to Begin. He cannot analyse the interplay of military and political factors in a domestic Arab situation or in inter-Arab relations well enough to weigh up alternatives suggested to him.

Shamir also swallowed Sharon's scheme to transform Lebanon. His respect for Begin is so uncritical that he would not disparage any plan that the prime minister supports. Shamir's self-effacement is so extreme that Sharon could trespass into his foreign policy sphere for months before Shamir began to voice views — even in the Cabinet, let alone publicly — which went counter to the defence minister's public statements.

Sharon had no trouble reading the IDF for its role in bringing about the new Lebanon once the PLO was expelled. He dominated the army, from the non-existent position of supreme commander which he carved out for himself although the position is constitutionally excluded in the Basic Law: Israel Defence Forces, of 1976.

Supreme commander Sharon found a kindred spirit in the person of Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan both with regard to the wider aims of the Lebanon campaign and to the concept of military force as an instru-



Ariel Sharon's flawed doctrine

Asher Wallfish considers how Sharon, as defence minister, was able to get support for his 'grand design' for Lebanon and to pursue a policy which ignored the advice of Israel's military intelligence.

ment of their special brand of Zionism.

In the period before June 6, 1982, the army intelligence prepared the ground industriously for the operation against the PLO. However, intelligence chief Yehoshua Saguy did not share Sharon's belief that if Bashir Jemayel could be installed as president, the rest of the defence minister's plan would fall into place. Saguy had no faith that the Phalange could change Lebanon's course so radically. But Sharon ignored him.

A FEW serving senior IDF officers who were uneasy when Begin appointed Sharon defence minister in the autumn of 1981 let their reservations about the wider aims of the Lebanon campaign be known to their immediate circle while the campaign was under way; even though they were meticulously implementing those aims. It was thanks to those officers and their connections, in part, that the Cabinet as a whole — and eventually the public — became aware of the defence minister's final plan.

Sharon was able to sell his scheme to Begin, as the Kahan report implies, thanks to the support of the Mossad (the non-military security service), which was much more impressed than IDF intelligence with the potential and the influence of the Phalange.

The fact that the military and civil intelligence arms differed in their evaluation of Bashir Jemayel's prospects reflected not only the dimensions of their separate organizations, but also the nature and scope of their operation in Lebanon.

majority in the region as a whole, they should seek to bolster their security and widen their political roots by cooperating with other religious minorities within the region such as Christians and Druse, as well as with small ethnic groups.

As Eri Jabotinsky's theory was taken up over the years by writers and thinkers, who were mostly close to Revisionist Zionism, the Kurds and Assyrians of Iraq were added to the list, as well as the Copts of Egypt and the Armenians in their Diaspora.

When Labour-led governments here sent military aid and instructors to help the Kurds fight the Baghdad regime, their programme was based on practical, non-ideological, grounds. A convergence of interests was perceived, but no alliance was intended: as a springboard to attain wider aims.

Aid for the Kurdish rebels in Iraq did not differ in conception from Israel's cooperation programme with the so-called "outer tier" non-Arab states on the periphery of the region: Iran with its Aryan Shi'ites; and Ethiopia with its African Christians fighting centrifugal minorities.

In all cases the idea was to leapfrog over the immediate ring of Arab hostility and set up listening and emergency operating posts on the other side of the ring. This same calculation, among others, underlies Israel's renewed aid to countries of Black Africa.

THE LABOUR PARTY rejected the idea of an alliance of Middle East minorities (or *Brit Hamilatim*, as it is in Hebrew). The late David Ben-Gurion ruled that Israel would one day need to make its peace with the Arab world and its Muslim majority. Ben-Gurion's heirs keep away from anything more than transitory links or tactical arrangements with minorities so as not to shape a reality which might eventually be counter-productive for the long-range objective of striking roots in the region.

His heirs threw a blanket of secrecy over such links, with the Kurds for example, as well as over evaluation of the Jemayels and their followers. It did not trim facts to suit an initial hypothesis, and it put the Phalange into the broader Lebanese perspective. It showed the Phalange as others saw them.

The Mossad by its very nature did not base itself on the same intake, and it spread its net more narrowly. The Mossad found it simpler and quicker to make contacts with and through the Phalange. So in quantity and in quality, its evaluations were weighted by the influence of the Phalange much more than the evaluations of IDF intelligence.

Because of this, when Sharon first presented his hypothesis to Begin, as early as winter 1981, there was nothing in the appraisals of the Mossad to cast doubt on it.

THE HYPOTHESIS supported by the Mossad and opposed by IDF intelligence, which prompted Sharon to launch his ambitious operation in Lebanon, was nourished on a Revisionist Zionist theory dating back to before the establishment of the State of Israel.

The late mathematics professor Eri Jabotinsky, son of Begin's mentor Ze'ev Jabotinsky, called on the Jewish community in this country and the Zionist movement worldwide to work for "an alliance of minorities in the Middle East." Eri Jabotinsky argued that since the Jews constituted a relatively small number, surrounded at the time by a big Moslem majority in Palestine and an even bigger Moslem ma-

Jemayel went on to man new posts on the Mount Sannine range separating Zahle from the Mediterranean. He began building a vehicle track to link Zahle with his port of Junieh across the mountain. The Phalange leader was clearly trying to alter the strategic balance.

Without encouragement from Begin, and the Chief-of-Staff, Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, Bashir would not have flexed his muscles this way. Sharon at the time was still minister of agriculture.

When the IAF shot down two Syrian helicopters to relieve the harassed Phalange units on Mount Sannine, Begin gave open operational expression to his alliance of Middle East minorities. To the Knesset, he gave an ideological and humanitarian justification. The Lebanese Christians fighting for justice had been abandoned by their co-religionists, and Israel alone could rescue them, Begin explained. But in reality he was opening a new chapter in Israel's security stance, which is now in the process of closing.

From the shooting down of the Syrian helicopters to the campaign in Lebanon was a short and an inevitable step. Syria sent ground-to-air missiles into Lebanon in response to the strike against the helicopters, and an Israeli operation to remove the missiles became a certainty — Israel could not live with the threat indefinitely. The timing of the operation; the IAF's technological preparation and training; and the pretext were the unknown factors.

When Sharon became defence minister, he set himself a number of converging objectives: a blow at the PLO to protect Galilee and to assure future control of Judea and Samaria; a blow at the Syrian missiles; and the implementation of the alliance of minorities philosophy, to create a Jerusalem-Cairo-Beirut peace triangle.

Some days ago, in a plenum debate, the Knesset member most familiar with the Lebanese scene, Amnon Linn (Alignment) explained that Sharon fell victim to a bait set by the Christian Phalange. He said that the Israel desk at Phalange headquarters, whose officials have copious files on the wishful thinking of Israel's top ministers from their own statements, prepared the evaluations and formulated the promises which were fed directly and indirectly to the government here.

Linn explained that all the Phalange wanted was for IDF soldiers to do their work for them, because they never intended to sign a peace treaty. "They prepared the exact trap which they knew we wanted to fall into," he said.

Linn said: "Lebanon is linked by an economic, social and political umbilical cord to the Arab world. The Christian leaders head economic corporations whose earnings, power and wealth all come from the Arab world. They are a two-directional shop window between the Arab world and the West. How could they permit themselves to sever their ties with the Arab world economy?"

He surmised later in a private interview that the Phalange experts and leaders cleverly used their monopolistic contacts with Israeli intelligence operatives to virtually brainwash some of these men into believing that the Phalange had the intention and the capacity to deliver the goods to Sharon's specifications. "It was a clear case of fraud," he said.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post Knesset Correspondent.

THE KAHAN REPORT/REACTION

Some demonstrated but others didn't care

Israelis in the street last week seemed as divided over the Kahan Report as they were before it.

In Tel Aviv, for example, many were watching television at 2 p.m. when a special programme on the commission report was broadcast. Diners in restaurants and investors at the stock market took time out to attend to the programme.

On the other hand, a pensioner walking his dog earlier was more interested in talking about the weather than about the commission.

"We haven't had such a beautiful day in weeks. The sun is shining, there is even the smell of spring in the air," he said. Asked about the committee findings, he responded, "Who cares?"

There were crowds on Rehov Dizengoff at the time who also seemed to be going about their usual business without concern. But both in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem last week, there were at least a few dozen persons who cared enough about the report to take part in demonstrations.

One demonstration was held by the "Movement for a greater Israel" outside the Defence Ministry in Tel Aviv, in support of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon. "We do not doubt the commission's conclusions, or that Sharon and the chief of staff are responsible, but Israel needs Sharon now," one demonstrator said.

The second demonstration, held by the League for Human and Citizen Rights — a new organiza-

tion — was held at Dizengoff Circle and called for the implementation of the Kahan Commission's conclusions and advocated criminal charges against those found in any way responsible for the Beirut massacres.

Shoppers at the Carmel market were in a happy mood. "Begin and Sharon will come out of this stronger," one said. Another warned, "I feel sorry for whoever tries to hurt a hair on the head of Sharon or Begin."

At the agricultural produce wholesale market on Rehov Carlebach, workers playing dominoes at one of the open-air restaurants hardly lifted their eyes from the boards. "Look, we're not worried," one said. "So why worry? We won't let Begin or Sharon resign."

A surprising number of the dozens of respondents to a random telephone poll conducted by *The Jerusalem Post* — about one-quarter — had not heard about the report 24 hours after it was released. Another quarter of the respondents said they had heard the news but did not want to comment.

Of the remaining people contacted, comments ranged from a call to "give Sharon a Nobel Prize for Peace" to bringing the government down and/or forcing Sharon to resign.

Prof. Aharon Cohen of Jerusalem said that whether the government resigns or not, nothing will change. But the inquiry into the Sabra and



Shatilla massacre by the Phalangists was a "waste, because it only made us look bad in world public opinion." The inquiry was the result of "Jewish masochism," and gave a "weapon to our enemies."

Eli Mamman said that the whole government should resign because of what happened in Beirut, but what happens next is uncertain. "Six million Jews died in the Holocaust; did anyone investigate?" reacted Michael Tzahan, a retired contractor. "Sharon should get the Nobel Peace Prize." He had no complaints against the commission, but thought the inquiry was a waste of time.

Micha Feshko asserted, however, that Sharon should resign, as recommended, and that the Alignment and the National Religious Party should form an alliance to establish a government. Holding elections now, he added, would not be advisable, as it costs too much money.

Moshe Veher, a pensioner, said that both Premier Menachem Begin and Sharon should go on despite the

findings of the commission.

Shimon Labis, an accountant, asserted that "Sharon should have remained in the army, and not got involved in politics." But he urged that the government resign anyway.

Esther Naim hadn't heard of the news, but she responded, when told of the commission's recommendations, that "the terrorists left bombs in buses and no one abroad made a fuss. Why did we have to make a fuss?"

In Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda market it seemed that no one believed that anyone will — or should — resign or be fired.

The market is known as a centre of Likud support.

"Sharon won't resign. The government won't resign. Tell Shimon Peres and all of them to put those ministerial suits they have ordered right back in the wardrobe," said the owner of a pickles stall.

"We Jews are too kind," another man asserted. Arabs kill Arabs every week.

Two young men selling clothes agreed. What did we need an inquiry for? The inquiry had been a mistake from the start. It was all Alignment propaganda. The government would carry on; no one would resign or be dismissed.

A boy, who could not have been more than 12, added his voice to the debate. Syrian President Hafez Assad had killed thousands of his opponents, he noted. Had anyone wanted, expected or demanded an inquiry?

"I don't think we should die for the Lebanese," a butcher declared. "If I would find Sharon guilty of anything, it would be for not pulling back a few kilometres now and leaving the Lebanese to fight each other."

A ginger-bearded man, in the Orthodox garb of Mea Shearim, opined that the whole business had damaged Israel "in the eyes of the *goyim*." It made it look as if the Jews were admitting guilt for a crime they had not committed.

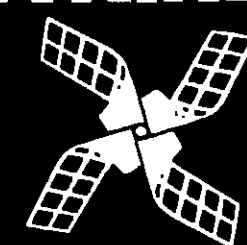
A number of people made the point that the Yom Kippur War blunder had been far more important. That had endangered the survival of the state, they claimed, and had resulted in the deaths of 2,500 soldiers. This was a much smaller affair, which had been blown up out of all proportion.

Three young men at a liquor store asserted that only Begin and Sharon could stand up to the Americans, "who want to screw us." Were the Americans our enemies, then? No, they were okay when they gave us money; but they want to give Judea and Samaria back to Hussein. "We need Arik to stand up to them."

The *ashkenazim*, who learn about the Arabs at university, did not really understand them, said one middle-aged woman. "Only we who have felt them at *heserem* (on our bodies) know what it is all about."

(Compiled from reports by Daniel Gerson, Yitzhak Oked, Judy Siegel and Michal Yudehman)

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Orders for the units offered to the public should be submitted to the company through United Mizrahi Bank Ltd., branches of the other banks, or members of Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. Copies of the prospectus are obtainable at the banks and from members of Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. The prospectus and the permit to publish it have been submitted to the Registrar of Companies.

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Prospectus dated February 8, 1983

U.S. Jewry was 'slow in response to Hitler threat'

By LEON HADAR
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Efforts by American Jews helped save the lives of some European Jews during the Holocaust. However, the American Jewish leadership at the time was in general very slow to react to the dangers facing European Jewry and never tried to mobilize American Jewry to pressure the U.S. administration to save Europe's Jewish millions.

This is the essence of an interim report of a private American Jewish commission that studied the matter. The report, prepared by the commission's chairman, former Supreme Court justice and UN ambassador Arthur Goldberg, says, however that even if American Jews had tried harder, they would not have been able to save the majority of the six million Jews slaughtered in the Holocaust.

The commission, formed in 1981 was dissolved last August after Jack Eisner, a businessman and a concentration camp survivor, withdrew promised funds and accused the commission of surrendering to pressure from Jewish organizations, which he alleged, tried to influence the commission's conclusions. The commission resumed its work last month after getting funds from

other sources.

The report, released last week criticizes most American Jewish organizations for a host of mistakes, including wishful thinking about German intentions. But it does not condemn any of them, saying they were not equipped to pressure Allied leaders or mobilize the necessary public opinion.

"It should be recognized," says the report, "that the American Jewish community of 1939-45 was not the community as we know it today. Most Jews were first-or second-generation Americans, still trying to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. In general, they were neither affluent nor influential."

On the other hand, the report harshly criticizes the Allied governments.

The report details efforts by some Jewish groups to help the Jews trapped in Europe, such as smuggling food or medical supplies to them.

This report, which will be the basis for a final report to be published next year, is more moderate than an earlier one by Samuel Merin, a former Revisionist leader, who was very critical of the role the American Jewish leadership played in the period studied. Merin has since resigned from the commission.

Tora and Flora

Louis I. Rabinowitz

ONE Friday, when I attended the Sephardi synagogue in Jerusalem's Yemin Moshe, the rubrics and the Sabbath hymns in the prayer book, I took notice of the references to the Celestial Apple Orchard of the Kabbala.

The first mention was the introduction to the *Lecha Dod* hymn, which states, "One should here go out in the fields and recite, 'Come, let us go out and greet the Queen Sabbath, to the orchard of Holy Apples.'"

After the conclusion of the service, there comes the following rubric: "Immediately on the conclusion of the service, one should repair to one's home and say, aloud and joyfully, 'Shabbat Shalom'...."

Thereafter he should take up his position at the festive board, where he intends to sit down, and say, 'This is the meal of the Orchard of Holy Apples.'... Lastly in the *zimrot*, the Sabbath hymns; which, after a number of similar references, open with the hymn of the Father of Kabbala, R. Isaac Luria. Its first verse refers to "the who enters the Orchard of Holy Apples."

The Song of Songs is included in the Sephardi rite as a recommended voluntary reading before the actual service, and it is in the *Song of Songs* that the apple features most prominently. From the references there, we shall gradually make our way from the terrestrial apple we know to the Orchard of the Celestial Apples, which figures so prominently in the mystical literature of the Kabbala.



Education Minister Zevulun Hammer last week visited first graders at Hayarden school in Tel Aviv's disadvantaged Hatikva Quarter. The school will not be closed down as recommended by an education expert. Hammer told the school's teachers of a five-point plan to rehabilitate schools in the slum quarters, where parents have been protesting against the low standards of education. (Siegelman, Israel Sun)

Prisoner rehabilitation bill

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

About 60 per cent of the 3,500 prisoners released each year are behind bars again within two years, Deputy Labour and Social Affairs Minister Ben-Zion Rubin said last week.

He was speaking in the debate on a bill establishing a semi-autonomous prisoner rehabilitation authority that would coordinate the rehabilitation activities of government ministries and existing voluntary organizations.

The bill passed its first reading without opposition and was referred to the Interior Committee. It was initiated by Raphael Suissa and Shoshana Arbeli (Alignment) and Mordechai Virshupski (Shinui).

Almost all speakers in the debate praised the work of the voluntary organizations — of which there are "at least five," according to Tamar Eshel (Alignment). But they were all agreed that the job was too big to be handled by volunteers alone.

"There is need for state responsibility in this matter," Rubin said. He noted that it costs over IS500,000 a year to maintain a prisoner. Eshel said that the new body would not have the authority of government ministries, but it would have the power to activate them. What the bill lacked, she said, was

an article "ensuring the necessary budget."

The bill makes it a matter of right for a discharged prisoner to be helped by the authority, which Rubin said would serve as "a central address" to help in matters like vocational training, employment, housing, and family problems.

The authority's executive body will be a directorate appointed by the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs in consultation with a 39-member council, to be appointed by the president.

Other points made in the debate were:

Suissa: Over 92 per cent of the prisoners are from the Oriental communities.

Shavah Weiss (Alignment): The next step is to examine innovative methods of punishment, such as giving jail terms not for a fixed term but, for example, of "up to three years."

Ariel Weinstein (Likud-Liberals): Since most employers are reluctant to hire ex-prisoners, we should adopt the U.S. practice of giving a tax credit to employers who do hire them.

Shlomo Hillel (Alignment): The authority should give priority to rehabilitation to young prisoners and women prisoners.

Weekend soccer

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Hapoel Beersheba 2, Hap. Lod 1
Hap. Jerusalem 0, Maccabi Haifa 0
Mac. Netanya 2, Mac. Petah Tikva 0
Hap. Tel Aviv 1, Hap. Yehud 0
Bnei Yehuda 0, Mac. Tel Aviv 2
Mac. Jaffa 1, Shimon 2
Hap. Kfar Sava 0, Hap. Ramat Gan 1
Mac. Yarni 1, Bnei Jerusalem 1

| | W | D | L | G | Pts |
|-----------------|----|----|----|-------|-----|
| 1 Netanya | 13 | 3 | 2 | 39-20 | 42 |
| 2 Mac. Tel Aviv | 7 | 9 | 2 | 21:7 | 30 |
| 3 Shimon | 7 | 8 | 6 | 21:14 | 29 |
| 4 Hap. Tel Aviv | 7 | 6 | 5 | 15:13 | 27 |
| 5 Beersheba | 6 | 8 | 4 | 17:15 | 26 |
| 6 Mac. PT | 7 | 5 | 6 | 19:21 | 26 |
| 7 Bnei Yehuda | 5 | 9 | 4 | 11:17 | 24 |
| 8 Mac. Haifa | 4 | 9 | 5 | 16:18 | 21 |
| 9 Yarni | 4 | 9 | 5 | 16:20 | 21 |
| 10 Lod | 4 | 8 | 6 | 22:20 | 20 |
| 11 Ramat Gan | 3 | 11 | 4 | 9:11 | 20 |
| 12 Yehud | 3 | 8 | 6 | 10:17 | 20 |
| 13 Jaffa | 3 | 9 | 6 | 13:16 | 18 |
| 14 Kfar Sava | 3 | 7 | 8 | 20:25 | 16 |
| 15 Hap. Jem | 4 | 4 | 10 | 17:32 | 16 |
| 16 Bnei Jem | 2 | 9 | 7 | 20:25 | 15 |

Victim of stoning dies

A 20-year-old woman hit in the head by stones thrown at her as she rode through a West Bank Arab village two weeks ago died in Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem on Saturday. She was Esther Ohanna, of Beit She'an.

The attack occurred on Saturday night, January 29, as the military vehicle in which she was a passenger passed through Dahariya village on the Beersheba-Hebron road.

Electronic voting

Post Knesset Reporter

Electronic voting will be introduced in the Knesset in the near future, Speaker Menahem Savidor told the House Committee last week.

The new system will not only yield foolproof results of every vote, now often a source of vociferous argument, but will provide a permanent record of the attendance of every MK (at voting time) and of how they voted.

Rubinstein bequest

The late Arthur Rubinstein has willed \$500,000 for the beautification of Jerusalem, according to municipal sources.

The pianist left the money to the Jerusalem Foundation. The municipality will decide how the money will be spent in keeping with Rubinstein's intentions.

\$23 Joe Renick, Pinesha Kanner, New York, and Mrs. E. Rubin, Petah Tikva.
\$500 Anonymous, Tel Aviv.
\$18 Chaplain Morris M. Falerstein, San Antonio, Texas.
\$15 In memory of my father Levi Rosenhand — Nicholas Rosenhand, Union, N.J.

\$500 Ruth Rose, Haifa, in honour of Laura and Hershey Rand, Montreal, Canada — Rhona Guberek, Jerusalem, C. Bossom. Anonymous, Jerusalem; In memory of my mother and grandmother — Marcus Goldstein, in memory of our loved ones — Gilbert and Valerie Herbert.

\$5400 (IS100 and \$8): a group of Near Northside Chicagoans, forwarded by Jack and Amy Gildron, Haifa.
\$10 Charles Weiner, Mountlake, N.Y. Janis McGillivray, Thayer, Ill.

\$300 A. Rosenblatt, Tel Aviv. In loving memory of David, Betty and Klony — Anonymous, Anonymous, Bnei Brak.

\$230 In memory of Anne Fine — Honi Rosen, Kibbutz Ein Shemer.

\$200 In memory of the father of Mrs. H. Paul Newman, Scottsdale, Arizona. (From Miriam Rosenthal, Jerusalem, Ruth Werner, Haifa, Amy Golomb, Jerusalem).

\$5 In honour of Selma and Eddie Halizer — Toby Halizer, Chicago, Ill. Idore Mindel, Brooklyn, N.Y.

\$175 P. and Th. Iselin, Winterthur, Switzerland.
\$160 Anonymous, Haifa.
\$150 L. and L. Walenstein, Jerusalem.
\$100 From E.O. in honour of L.B.

HOME NEWS

Doctors' strike threatened

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Time is running out for the Treasury and employers to come up with an acceptable offer to meet doctors' salary demands, Dr. Shmuel Friedman, head of the Israel Medical Association's strike organizing committee, said last week.

If there is no progress in the stalled wage negotiations and no improvement in the worsening conditions in government hospitals, the strike will start "very soon," Friedman told *The Jerusalem Post*. A date has been chosen, but is being kept a closely-guarded secret by the IMA.

During their strike, the doctors will offer "alternative medical services" (AMS), whereby patients will be asked to pay on the spot for medical treatment and get reimbursed by their insurance.

The Nurses Union and the Government Hospital Workers Union had announced that they will not cooperate with the doctors in operating the AMS. The AMS will place a burden on patients, especially the poor, and could also open the way for the introduction of private medicine, they said.

Yisrael Kessar, head of the Histadrut trade union department, strongly attacked the doctors' plan to charge patients directly for medical service.

He also stressed that the Histadrut will not support groups demanding more than the 22 per

cent raise outlined in the collective wage agreements. Deviations from the formula will cause a chain reaction of wage demands in other sectors of the economy, he said.

Meanwhile, Health Minister Eliezer Shostak labelled recent allegations of a "total breakdown" in government hospitals "untrue and exaggerated."

He was appearing before a special session of the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee called to discuss the situation in government hospitals, which hospital directors and department heads last week called "dangerously overcrowded and short-staffed."

Shostak told the committee that there was no truth in some doctors' claims that "patients are dying because hospitals cannot extend proper care."

"My conscience is clear," Shostak said, noting that the Health Ministry is continually building new medical facilities and trying to improve service. Beds must be added to relieve some of the pressure he said but first existing beds must be properly utilized.

Part of the overcrowding is the result of patients coming straight to the emergency rooms, rather than going first to family doctors at sick-leave clinics, Shostak said. But most of the problem can be traced to the growing percentage of elderly persons in the population; 90 per cent of the overcrowding in emergency wards is because of old people, he said.

Israel Prizes in history

Professors Avrom Saltman and Shaul Friedlander will be awarded Israel Prizes in general history this year, the Education and Culture Ministry has announced. It will be the first ever prize for the category.

Saltman was born in England in 1925, studied at Cambridge and London Universities, and from 1948 to 1957 served as an assistant and lecturer in general history at London University. He moved to Israel in 1967, and became a professor at Bar-Ilan University, serving as head of the general history department, dean of the faculty of Jewish studies and rector.

Since 1956, he has been a member of the Royal Historical Society of Britain and an honorary member of the Archeological Society of Derby. He has specialized in English history and in the influence of the Bible, in Hebrew, on West European medieval culture.

Friedlander was born in Czechoslovakia in 1932. After the German occupation, his family fled to France. When that country was conquered by the Nazis, he was placed in a Catholic boarding school and raised as a Christian under the name of Paul-Henri Marie Freland. Before leaving for a secondary school, a priest told him of his Jewish origin, and that his parents



Professors Shaul Friedlander and Avrom Saltman.

had been killed at Auschwitz. In 1948 he came to Israel continuing his studies in Tel Aviv and afterwards, in Paris, the U.S. and Geneva, where he completed a study of Nazi Germany and the U.S. in 1939-41.

In 1967, he became a visiting professor at the Hebrew University, afterwards becoming a professor of history and international relations, serving as head of the department and as director of the Leonard Davis Institute. In 1976, he moved to Tel Aviv University, serving as head of the school of history, and also as a guest professor at Lausanne.

Friedlander is known for his research on the Catholic Church's stand during the Holocaust, and in psycho-history.

'She makes yeshiva students look at her'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Jerusalem police spokesman last week said that arrests are expected in the case of a sign shop vandalized on Saturday night in Rehov Agrippas, allegedly by students of the nearby Balz yeshiva.

The incident, one in a series of attacks reportedly made by the students on the shop, is attributed to the owner's refusal to stop employing a woman assistant.

The students broke in, over-ur-

ried cans of paint on signs and scrawled slogans on the doors of the shop. The latest incident involved breaking some roof tiles.

The *Jerusalem Post* was told by one of the students that he was among those who broke in. He said they had done so because the woman sat outside, forcing all the students to look at her as they passed. She and her friends would all be on the steps of the yeshiva itself, he said, in order to anger the students.

Arabs ask to be conscripted

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Dozens of Israeli Arabs have applied to the Defence Ministry to be conscripted into the army, government officials said last week.

The applicants are Beduin Christians from villages in Western Galilee. In the village of Kfar Yasif, east of Acre, 12 young Christians submitted official applications to the Defence Ministry.

The new wave of volunteers started during the Lebanon War, when hundreds of Israeli Arabs expressed readiness to take part in the military effort.

So far the authorities have not extended compulsory military service to Arabs, but they are allowed to serve as volunteers. The applicants explained they were motivated by the will to serve their country and to speed their integration into Israeli society.

The government is to consider the applications before making a final decision. Communications Minister Mordechai Zupori is in favour of accepting them. In a meeting with Arab residents in Nazareth last November he said that "those who seek full rights must fulfil their duties as well."

London lunch marks Post's 50th birthday

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The 50th birthday of *The Jerusalem Post* was celebrated at a luncheon here last week at which co-editor and managing director Ar. Rath was the guest of honour.

A birthday cake was provided, and Rath blew out the symbolic candle in front of a distinguished audience of politicians, the press and Jewish leaders.

The lunch was organized by the Board of Deputies of British Jews and hosted by its president, MP Greville Janner. Guests included former British ambassador to Israel Sir Michael Hadow and *Telegraph* editor William Deedes.

Argov gets book of his own speeches

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov, shot in the head last June in London, has received a surprise gift at Hadassah Hospital's Rehabilitation Centre — a copy of a book comprising his speeches and articles.

The book was presented by Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, who together with British publisher Lord Weidenfeld, helped arrange for the book's publication. The Foreign Ministry assembled material for the book, entitled *An Ambassador Speaks Out*.

In a preface, Kollek writes that Argov has become a symbol "of the Israeli diplomat who today not only fights for his country's cause under the most difficult circumstances but also risks his very life in doing so."

Argov remains paralyzed in all his limbs, and his vision has been severely impaired. According to hospital officials, he can now read large headlines, and his intellectual powers have returned sufficiently for him to offer political analyses of the current situation. His mood is described as variable.

The trial is continuing in London of three Arabs charged with attempting to murder Argov.

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Requests are still pouring in

Toy Fund donations arrived from:

153600 Twenty times Hal for our 10 grandchildren, Sonia, Sackia, Daniel, Gideon, in Holland; Guy, Tami, Oded, Dana, Ronit and Sharon in Israel from the Henk and Dorothy Schussheim Foundation.
\$15000 Mr. Walter, Mr. Blenstock, Mr. Kuzner, Mr. Karp and Mr. Rubin, Kfar Shmaryahu.
\$50 Anonymous, West Hartford, Conn.
\$20 From the *Pharos* for the 30th anniversary, Maryland, in celebration of its 30th anniversary.

\$36 Sylvia Schwarz, San Diego, Ca.
\$25 Sam Rubin, Tucson, Arizona.
\$15 In memory of Linda Turkiet — Nachum Rosenhand, Union, N.J.

\$1540 R. Freyman, Rehovot.
\$5324 Eighteen times Hal in honour of David Solomon's two little granddaughters from his colleagues.

\$10 The pupils of a third grade class at Temple Emanuel-EI, Edison, N.J. In honour of Chila Rene Binter, a brand-new, beautiful, Vidische Mädelchen — Toby Heizer, Chicago.

\$500 In honour of my grandmother, Dora Rubin of Miami, Fla. on her birthday — Sharon Weizman, Herzliya.

\$5250 In memory of Amos and Asaf Gat from the Bracha Family.

\$500 Amy Golomb, Jerusalem.
\$5 Isidore Mindel, Brooklyn, N.Y.
\$160 Anonymous, Haifa.

requests will be jointly looked into by *The Jerusalem Post* and social workers. The situation only emphasizes that the Toy Fund has become much more than the original Hanukkah goodwill operation; it has expanded to a year-round effort, and we therefore continue to call for your support and help. New donations of IS13,535.50 put the fund's total at IS1,213,664.02. Please remember to make out separate cheques to the Toy Fund and to address all of them to *The Jerusalem Post*, POB 81,91000 Jerusalem, Israel.

"FORSAKE ME NOT"

CONSIDERING the cost of heating during this current winter, *The Jerusalem Post* "Forseke Me Not" fund-raisers have decided to prepare in advance for next winter. We hope to purchase heaters and blankets at off-season prices and to hold on to this stock until the need arises for them next year.

Last week's contributions of IS 36,492.50 bring our total to IS1,536,227.52. Much more is needed, still, to aid those elderly citizens whose personal means are insufficient to acquire proper heaters and adequate clothing.

This week's contributors were:

\$160 Anonymous, Chmaron, Kansas.
\$100 In honour of our grandchildren, Mira and Guy Sprin of Givatayim, in appreciation for their kindness and love — Zaida and Bobi Calgry, Helmut and Nancy Paulat, Boston, Mass.

\$13,600 In memory of Frieda and Siegfried Schussheim, Leipzig; Helga Schussheim and Dr. Peter Schussheim, Amsterdam; Bertha and Abraham Gridinski, London — the Henk and Dorothy Schussheim Foundation, Haifa.

\$13,600 Anonymous, Jerusalem.
\$13,400 Maria Rubina, Rishon LeZion
\$13,000 Anonymous, Jerusalem.
\$12,400 Anonymous, Zahala, Tel Aviv.
\$68 From two more members of the congregation Sons of Israel, Springfield, N.Y.: \$30, Dr. and Mrs. Zane Graf and \$18 — Mr. and Mrs. Jack Pinchuk.

\$12,000 H. Lewandowski, Afula.
\$50 Drs. Beatrice K. Rome, Seattle, Wash. Anonymous, West Hartford, Conn.
\$100,000 In memory of the late Rabbi Shmuel E. Shaulson, deputy-mayor of Jerusalem — Adele Cappi, Modena, Italy.

\$151,500 Keren Ne'eman, Jerusalem.
\$36 In memory of our dear parents — Joseph and Gitla Weber.

\$151,250 For a speedy recovery for Jack Karp from Mr. J. Karp, Rabbi E.M. Teliz, Mr. Simon, Mr. Liel, Kfar Shmaryahu.

\$15,000 Anonymous, Tel Aviv. Pinna Yarden.

\$1980 In memory of our parents, Sara and Abe Young and Kaye and Rubin Shavin — Gilda and Sam Shavin.

\$25 In memory of my grandparents, Joseph and Rebecca Topitzky — David Topitzky, Blum, Rachel Gottlieb, Haifa. Sam and Ruth Rubin, Tucson, Arizona.

In February 1982 D.I.C. raised on the local stock exchange more than \$9 million. Of this amount \$8.25m.

Israel Discount Bank of New York, the U.S. subsidiary of Israel Discount Bank, has published its consolidated statement of condition as of December 31, 1982. Total

Dan Tolkowsky

New York was ranked as the 15th largest commercial bank in New York State and the 64th largest bank in the U.S. This is a rise of places since the previous year's rankings.

Elscint raises \$30 million in new U.S. financing issue

According to an Elscir

For Elscint this was the third successful financing issue; the previous ones were in 1972 and in October 1980.

Attracting South African investors

"Although we have about 50

The squash courts in Herzliya already have 450 paid-up members.

Shares move up after losses

The possibility of early national elections is regarded positively by many investors insofar as the future course of the share market is concerned.

The index-lined bond market was mixed, with prices generally moving in an upward direction.

Rates of Exchange

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| Norwegian krone | 5.2 |
| Danish krone | 4.3 |
| Finnish mark | 6.8 |
| Canadian dollar | 30.0 |
| Australian dollar | 35.7 |
| South African rand | 32.7 |
| Belgian franc (10) | 7.7 |
| Austrian schilling (10) | 21.7 |

Brain drain

According to the Jerusalem branch of the Manufacturers Association, the problem is especially acute among electronic and mechanical engineers, electronic technicians, systems analysts, computer programmers and other workers in related fields.

On the other hand, travelling by plane, and arriving in daylight gives you the illusion that you have arrived in another country. From above, you see groves of palm trees, the indigo-blue sea and mauve mountains beyond; even crease and twist of rock-face is visible in the dry, clear air.



Coral Beach south of Eliat is better equipped — at least that section of it which is under the care and protection of the Nature Reserve Authority. Snorkellers can hire equipment here if they haven't brought their own, and spend fruitful hours alternatively sunning

A few kilometres from the centre of town, with frequent daily public transport linking it to the main resort, Coral Beach is also remarkably free of other forms of atmospheric pollution. We spent one weekend there at the new Coral Sea Hotel, next to the Laromme, and found the convivial atmosphere as refreshing as the desert air itself. Many of the other guests were

Guides for pilgrims

The situation was a result of

Speaking at a ceremony at which the certificates were awarded, Monsignor Richard Mallon, the director of Notre Dame, said that while he insisted on the principle of pastors leading pilgrims, he realized that it was, in fact, a question of livelihood for the guides. The centre now had on file a list of all the guides who had a basic understanding necessary for guiding Catholic groups and who had shown their open-mindedness by attending the course.

Steady stream from Lebanon

Although most of those coming from Beirut are Christians, he says, there are also many Moslem guests from Southern Lebanon. As to their spending habits, he says "money is no object for them."

Rain-seekers

Gagin and his colleagues have achieved international renown in the area of weather modification. A recent issue of the American Journal of Science noted that the Israel project was the only experiment consistently to yield rain increases at ground level.

| February 10, 1983 | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| U.S. dollar | IS 36.7899 |
| British sterling | 56.8772 |
| Cleerman mark | 15.2497 |
| French franc | 5.3842 |
| Deutsch goldler | 13.8217 |
| Swiss franc | 18.2693 |
| Swedish krona | 4.9790 |
| Norwegian krona | 5.2166 |
| Danish krona | 4.3225 |
| Finnish mark | 6.8740 |
| Canadian dollar | 30.0353 |
| Australian dollar | 35.7101 |
| South African rand | 32.7467 |
| Belgian franc (10) | 7.7534 |
| Austrian schilling (10) | 21.7030 |
| Italian lire (100) | |

